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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XII

"FIRST KONOYE CABINET AND LUKOUCHIAO"

(20 Apr - 19 Jul 1937)

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS
PART TWELVE: FIRST KONOYE CABINET AND LUKOUCHIAO

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
236	KEMPEITAI AND CABINET	1750
237 (A)	PEASANTS AND POLITICIANS	1757
237 (B)	IMPERIAL PATRONAGE	1764
238	"KONOYE: COME FORTH!"	1770
239	KONOYE SUCCEEDS HAYASHI	1778
240	KONOYE'S CABINET	1792
241	ABE CHIDES THE ARMY	1800
242	KYOTO POLICE WORK	1806
243	KONOYE AND MAZAKI	1809
244	LUKOUCHIAO	1818
245	LOCALIZE BUT MOBILIZE!	1825

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 236
(20 April 1937)

Kempeitai and Cabinet

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

After that in political party circles or in the House of Peers it was said the dissolution was the work of the Premier alone and not the joint opinion of the entire Cabinet. Such things as the following were said by the Premier until about 2:00 o'clock in the morning: "In regard to the dissolution, let's decide it after more consideration," and they adjourned without making any decision. Perhaps after the adjournment the Chief of the Police Bureau (Home Ministry), threatened by rightist organizations, pleaded with the Premier for a dissolution. Baron KURODA of the House of Peers (where he obtained the report is not known) said: "In the middle of the night two men of the Reserves - they do not seem to have been regular Army men - met the Premier. Owing to the pressure of these two men the Premier made his decision by the following morning and called for the dissolution."

From still other quarters it is said: "The Commander of the Kempeitai called on the Premier in the middle of the night and said: "The Army will not be satisfied unless there is a dissolution." So saying, he put pressure on the Premier. So on the following morning, when all the Cabinet members had gone, he (Premier) met each of the members individually and said: "If you do not agree with me on the dissolution, I will resign." As a result everybody acquiesced, and after obtaining their individual agreements, the Premier called the Cabinet meeting and petitioned the Throne for

Kempeitai and Cabinet

a dissolution."

Various unscrupulous rumors were being spread. I thought that the more prominent members of the House of Peers should know the actual facts. In order that they should not be misled by the rumors I immediately phoned the Chief of the Police Bureau and said: "There are such and such rumors. And there are people who are incessantly spreading them. How was it actually? Wherein does the truth lie? I think that it would be well to tell KONOYE also a little about the actual facts. And perhaps I will talk to Baron IWAKURA of the Koseikai. Don't you think it better to explain it in detail not only to KURODA and IWAKURA but also to members of the Kenkyukai?"

The Chief of the Police Bureau replied: "I agree with you. A general investigation of the events that occurred during those nights has been carried out but it does not seem that anything peculiar occurred. I will order a more thorough investigation and give you a reply. After the Cabinet meeting, along with the Chief of the Legislation Bureau, I met the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and said to him: 'To let the Diet continue in its present state will inevitably leave a bad atmosphere, which I think will put the Government in a difficult position. In order to turn over a new leaf and in order also for the Government to retain its prestige, regardless of what may be said, I think that a dissolution will be better for the future even though a majority cannot be obtained.' This is what I (Chief of Police Bureau) said with great emphasis, and though there may be rumors prevalent to the effect that I did so because

Kempeitai and Cabinet

I was 'pressed by the rightists' or 'by the extortion of a certain group for something', they are absolutely untrue. Anyway, I will make an immediate investigation."

On the other hand, I spoke to the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MATSUDAIRA, and told him: "It is better to speak to KONOYE also about the talk on Chief of the Education Bureau OMURA and have things clarified." After that I met Gen. TERAUCHI so I said to him: "Various things are said about the relationship of the President of the Privy Council, HIRANUMA, with Premier HAYASHI, but what are the true facts?" To which TERAUCHI replied: "Well, as a matter of fact, that is a question that is on the mind of the Army too, but the true facts are unknown. At one time, on account of so many Cabinet members being pushed on him (Premier), he did not listen to what HIRANUMA had to say and kept eluding him. But now it looks as though he goes to discuss things with him sometimes. I just can't understand. Within a short time I intend to inquire into the matter."

On the night of the 14th I went to Okitsu and early on the morning of the 15th I phoned the Chief of the Police Bureau and he said: "I made a thorough investigation of the various occurrences on the night previous to the dissolution but that night the Premier did not meet anyone. No one was at the official residence and the Premier did not go out. The stories are absolutely false."

Then I said to the Chief of the Police Bureau: "Recently in military circles very young officers, such as lieutenants and captains, are saying: 'Anyone above

Kempeitai and Cabinet

a major is worthless'. And I hear that such talk is very acute. What about it?" The Chief of the Police Bureau replied: "There are various unbiased rumors but I hear that at present things in general are quite under control. I have nothing definite regarding conditions in the Army."

That same morning (15th) I talked over the phone with Bureau Chief KURIYAMA and he said: "This is something I heard from SHIRATORI; I don't want you to say that you heard that SHIRATORI said it, but this is what he said: "It is said that recently lieutenants and captains and other young officers are saying, 'anyone above majors is worthless'. And so saying they are creating an air of great unrest. This is something that cannot be left unheeded."

Hearing this from KURIYAMA I said: "There is a reason for SHIRATORI to say such a thing, so it is not good to take him at his word, but there is evidently a necessity to be on the alert."

Yesterday, at the regular session of the Privy Council, the problem of an urgent Imperial ordinance in regard to the taxation of steel came up and at that time Count KANEKO said: "It is against the virtues of the Constitution. An urgent Imperial ordinance does not have to be used; the rules set forth in Article 70 or thereabouts regarding the control of finance should be applied, thereby not slighting the virtues of the Constitution." So saying he (Count KANEKO) defended the constitutional government and was the only one to oppose.

It is indeed very queer talk. At one time perhaps he is in favor of fascism by showing favoritism towards

Kempeitai and Cabinet

the Army and now recently, in complete reversal, he is flattered by political parties and used by them at times.

I talked with the Finance Minister over the phone and asked him about conditions, whereupon he said: "I didn't speak to Count KANEKO before the issue and obtain his understanding; perhaps that is why it got on his nerves to such a great extent." So I retorted: "The Government has heretofore pampered Count KANEKO too much and thereby set a bad precedent. All Privy Councillors must be treated alike. No favoritism should be shown to just one or two. I am of the opinion that everyone should be treated with the same respect, as the Government naturally sees fit."

Then I spoke with Communications Minister KODAMA and he said: "After all, after the elections various problems arise and for the Government to take this or that measure may be impossible." And so saying he hung up.

At 10:00 o'clock I went to the Prince's place and made a general report and the Prince stated: "Somehow political parties do not look back on themselves and claim the dissolution to be unconstitutional, etc., but isn't the attitude of political parties themselves decidedly unconstitutional?"

So saying the Prince stated the facts logically and also said: "I think it just natural that I send a congratulatory telegram to the King of England upon his Coronation. What do you think? I want you to inquire at the Foreign Office for me."

When the previous King passed away, the Prince sent a telegram of condolence to the British Grand Chamberlain,

Kempeitai and Cabinet

whereupon the Crown Prince, through the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, returned a very courteous reply.

Two days later I returned to Oiso and spoke to the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs over the phone about it and said: "I want you to think it over." However, during the conversation the Vice-Minister said: "A congratulatory telegram for a Coronation is supposed to be sent just prior to the occasion, so I will think it over a little more."

On Sunday the 18th I met IKEDA, Seihin whom I had not met for quite some time, and he said: "Anti-militaristic ideas pervade the entire populace and look rather serious, so if by chance there should be a second dissolution I fear that the feeling between the Army and the people will be aggravated. I think that this might become very serious." So saying he seemed to be very worried. He was also extremely worried about the financial circle and said: "Even if there is a Cabinet change everything should be done to retain YUKI as a financial technician; otherwise we are in for trouble."

On the morning of the 18th KASHIWAGI of the Yokohama Specie Bank came and said that he was to be a representative on an industrial mission which was to be sent to Europe. As one of the members he was first going to the United States and then to the European continent. As he is to leave on the coming 28th, he said: "I want to talk to you on various things before leaving." And in the talk he said: "KADONO has been made the leader of the mission from Japan to travel around the United States and Europe, but this is useless. As a matter of fact this will have little effect. I think that IKEDA, after becoming

Kempeitai and Cabinet

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 237 (A)
(8 May 1937)

Peasants and Politicians

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

On the 24th I talked over the phone with ex-Foreign Minister ARITA and said: "I met War Minister SUGIYAMA the other day and asked about the relations between HIRANUMA, the President of the Privy Council, and Premier HAYASHI. Find out what you can on the sly." Whereupon ARITA said: "Yesterday I called on War Minister SUGIYAMA and asked him about various developments. HIRANUMA and the Premier are evidently talking (to each other) through Justice Minister SHIONO. But I do not think it is anything serious. It was evidently planned to substitute three Cabinet members before the election, but this, apparently on the advice of HIRANUMA, was postponed. And because SHIONO was opposed to the dissolution people are saying: 'Didn't he take this position under instructions from HIRANUMA?' But seeing that SHIONO was opposed, naturally there were no instructions from HIRANUMA or any such things." ARITA went on to say: "If by chance there is to be a Cabinet change it will be distressing to use OSUMI or MINAMI."

After that I talked with the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs over the phone and he said: "The Foreign Office has accepted (the responsibility) for the time and contents of the congratulatory telegram to be sent by the Prince to both Their British Majesties upon their coronation."

That afternoon (24th) I met IKEDA, President of the Bank of Japan, at Oiso. He said: "Young Army men are again constantly moaning, saying through people who come

Peasants and Politicians

to me: 'YUKI is no good anymore. He can't do anything.' So I told them: 'At present there aren't any other men. You shouldn't say such things. Be patient and watch the situation for a little while.'"

When on April 30th I was on my way to Okitsu, TOKAWA boarded the train at Numazu and speaking on various subjects he said: "It seems that there is constant talk of the dissolution of the North China Local Government. If such a thing is carried out SUNG Che-yuan will more than ever work for vengeance against Japan. The Japanese told him to 'go ahead' so he is exerting his efforts. Now if all his powers are taken away and he is double-crossed it will result in his thinking: 'Japan is no country to associate with.' There is no necessity for Japan 'to wag her tail' and to join forces with Britain and Russia, which are abetting CHIANG Kai-shek. If such a thing is done it will more than ever bind us and nothing will be accomplished. Unless Premier HAYASHI thinks a great deal about politics and courtesy for us it will be distressing. If such a thing (dissolution) occurs this time there will be nothing for him to do but resign." Then he (TOKAWA) further said: "There are various controversies in Manchukuo and much is being said but in the criticisms of the Chinese toward Manchukuo there is that about the 'trust system'. That is, criticisms are being said about changing the money system but the Chinese do not put up for collateral purposes. Heretofore they have trusted the individual and loaned millions of yen recklessly. Now with the stabilization of the currency system a complete trust system has been set up. That is, emphasis has been placed on a basic collateral system, which is causing them a

Peasants and Politicians

great deal of inconvenience. On account of this many of them are expressing their grievances with bad words."

When I asked him various things about the Army, TOKAWA said with persistency: "No matter how many times Ministers are changed, the main cogs will be ITAGAKI and ISHIHARA."

On the morning of the 1st, before going to the Prince's place, I asked MATSUDAIRA, Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, about the situation. He said: "There are no particular changes."

Then I asked the Chief of the Police Bureau about the situation and he said: "The Government looks for the results of the general election to be 190 for Minseito, 170 for Seiyukai, 35 for Labor, 28 for Showa, 13 for Kokudo, 10 for Tohokai, and 77 for various small parties. There were very few violations in this election but there were a great many forfeits."

When I talked with Home Minister KAWARADA over the phone, he said: "Governor KIMISHIMA of Gumma Prefecture was saying that the farmers have advanced a great deal and are saying (with snickers): 'What, again? These campaign speech-makers from the city are a lot of baloney.' Political party members went to outlying districts and said: 'The dissolution was unconstitutional.' And so saying they made repeated arguments but were not listened to very much. Moreover, it was seen that a great many people of the intellectual class forfeited (their voting privileges), saying: 'There aren't any candidates in the present ready-made political parties for whom one could cast his vote.'"

I talked to Communications Minister KODAMA over the phone and he said: "I guess it will have to go this way

Peasants and Politicians

until the special Diet session."

I phoned Finance Minister YUKI and told him about how I had met TOKAWA; he (YUKI) said: "The reputation of TOKAWA is very bad. The Nanking Government holds a great antipathy toward him." So I said: "You can't tell what actions TOKAWA is up to so you had better warn him."

On the 1st (May) I went to the Prince's place and said: "The other day a judge from the court martial came to me and asked in regard to what relations UZAWA, Chomei has with your good self. So I said: 'The ties between UZAWA and the Prince are not as close as UZAWA is claiming them to be. As a rule the Prince will not meet anyone personally right away unless KUMAGAYA, NAKAGAWA, or myself gives the word. Either that person asks for an affirmative or negative reply telegraphically or makes an appointment for the time and day by letter. No matter whether UZAWA or anybody comes suddenly or no matter how serious, the more serious it is, the Prince will not meet anyone.'"

And after desultory talk the Prince said: "KIDO came to see me the other day."

The usual procedure followed to decide who is going to take over the political reins is that the Emperor first asks the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "Whom do you think would be good?" In turn the Lord Keeper inquires of the Genro and makes a suitable reply. Then the Emperor summons the Genro, or perhaps he sends a messenger to ask the opinion of the Genro in regard to the succeeding cabinet. Then the Genro makes a personal appearance in answer to the summons and in his gracious audience replies to his inquiries. If this be not the case he (Emperor) has the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal or the Grand Chamberlain

Peasants and Politicians

come and reply to his gracious inquiries. Since the Prince's health has not been good and he has not been able readily to make a personal appearance, and also on account of various changes in conditions he has wished to decline to reply to summons. It would be inexcusable if he were to be irresponsible, so he wanted to decline to reply but present-day conditions will not allow it. Hence in this present political change the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal will be called upon. And the Lord Keeper has stated to His Majesty that he should discuss it with the Genro. The Lord Keeper, under Imperial rescript, is to come to his (Prince's) place to discuss it with him and after discussing it, he is to report the outcome to His Majesty. Three or four years ago, that is before the OKADA Cabinet was formed, the matter was referred to the Throne. In the case of a political change, before the Genro reports to the Throne, the Emperor summons important figures, that is the Premier, the president of the Privy Council and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. And for the Genro's reference, the Emperor relates the opinion of each. And perhaps if these opinions are not suitable to the Genro it is not the least concern to take the individual opinion of the Genro alone. And if his (Genro's) opinions are the same as the others' then that too is all right. In all respects only the Genro's report to the Throne is taken into consideration. All others are summoned to the Palace for the sake of opinion. Whether these opinions are taken into consideration or not is left to the judgment of the Genro.

After that (case of the OKADA Cabinet) there occurred the Feb. 26th Incident. Most of the important figures

Peasants and Politicians

were assassinated or injured then, and as a result were not able to get together. The time too was not necessarily suitable, so in this case KIDO discussed it with the Prince and also held discussions with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and then reported to the Throne. Then requesting that those documents be handed down, the aforementioned methods were taken up anew. And in keeping with the trend, if necessary, it was permissible to call together different people and to do as they desire. It was changed so that it would be decided quite freely. When this (plan) was relayed through the Grand Chamberlain to the Throne, the Emperor said: "On account of the Prince's health and his old age it cannot be helped." It was therefore accepted. This method does not necessarily have to be publicized and must needs be applied only in case of a political change. And lest this be discovered by the public, there was a very copious letter to the Prince. And under the order of the Prince, I (HARADA) wrote an answer and greetings to the Grand Chamberlain.

Then the Prince said: "I am thinking of meeting the Premier one of these days but to have him come to my place and talk about unifying church and state would be distressing. To speak bluntly, it would be against the principles of the Constitution. In regard to such a proposal it wouldn't be possible to say: 'That is a very fine thing', would it? The Ministry of Education has sent me a book called "Kokutai no Hongi" (The Principles of National Polity). Looking through it, I find that it deals not only with religion but with history, psychology and everything else. The whole thing is a conglomeration that cannot be understood. And it continues to go on and say

Peasants and Politicians

that the Japanese Constitution is something special, that Prince ITO was sent by the Imperial command of Emperor MEIJI to Europe to study constitutions. In Germany he met GNEIST and STEIN and gathered research material and opinions for reference. Religious freedom is absolutely permissible and the privacy of personal correspondence is in a clause of the Constitution. As for meeting the Premier, I'll meet him, but if he says such things, I'll be in an awkward position to answer."

Seionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 237 (B)
(8 May 1937)

Imperial Patronage

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

Upon my return to Oiso on the afternoon of the 3rd, KONOYE came to my place in the evening. We had dinner together and talked about various things until about 8:30. KONOYE remarked: "On the night of the 2nd, Home Minister KAWARADA came to my place and said: 'The Premier has decided to resign and wants to transfer the post to you.' Such being the purpose of his coming, I had KIDO come right away and the three of us talked. Finally I clearly said: 'I can't possibly do such a thing. My present physical condition and state of mind will absolutely not permit me to become Premier or to hold any such position. I can't possibly accept.' The reply was: 'Then the result would be that it would be distressing to have MINAMI. OSUMI too is disagreeable.' Such being the case, it was decided to retain the Premier."

Before the Cabinet meeting on the morning of the 3rd, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and I talked over the phone. The Lord Keeper said: "KODAMA's attitude is very suspicious indeed and I am very worried about this coming week. I am worrying whether there will not be a Cabinet resignation (en bloc)." After speaking with the Lord Keeper over the phone I immediately phoned Communications Minister KODAMA and off-handedly asked: "What in the world is the Government going to do?" Whereupon Count KODAMA said: "I have my own ideas but when everybody wants to let things go on as they are for me to jump out and do something drastic is against my will. We have hopes of going along together. Anyway, what do you think?"

Imperial Patronage

So I said: "There is no reason for a change at present. It was anticipated from the beginning that the dissolution would bring about this result. And because it has turned out this way, to throw things overboard right away will make people think you are more irresponsible than ever." He understood well and said: "I will think it over more carefully," and hung up.

Immediately after that I went to the Prince's place and conversed on various things. The Prince said: "For the Cabinet to resign at present, speaking even from the political point of view, there is no reason."

Then I returned to Oiso and while I was talking with KONOYE Communications Minister KODAMA phoned and said: "At today's Cabinet meeting it was decided to retain office, so I want you to rest assured." Immediately in turn I phoned to Okitsu and informed the Prince that the Cabinet was to remain.

On the 6th, getting together with ex-War Minister TERAUCHI on the train I asked various questions and he said: "President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA is indeed very insolent. The Army has been recommending Lt. Gen. OSHIMA, Kenichi as advisor to the Privy Council time and again but HIRANUMA says: 'OSHIMA is a neo-plebian so he won't do.' And President HIRANUMA has switched and recommended Gen. NARA as the person to be brought forth by the Premier. That fellow HIRANUMA is very insolent. To leave such a person in the position of President of the Privy Council for a long time is not good."

Then I went to Tokyo and as previously promised went to the Palace about 11:00 o'clock and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He said: "Before the Prince meets the

Imperial Patronage

Premier I want to tell you this for your reference. When the Premier first said unity of church and state I struck on the presumption that he was not thinking of placing a commissioner of (Shinto) religion (in the Palace). And I took it that the Premier did not hold such ideas but according to KODAMA there is evidence that a commissioner was to be put in. People will perhaps take unity of church and state to be something of a serious nature whereby politics will in a way be conducted as if before God. There are more people who are naturally thinking that it will not be unconstitutional or touch upon the Constitution. And the Cabinet members too were all, in general, viewing it that way."

The Lord Keeper also said: "At the time of the dissolution there were threats from people like ISHIHARA and ASAHARA to the effect that if a dissolution were not ordered very drastic things might occur. And finally having made them resolve on a dissolution it is evident that HIRANUMA made the report through SHIONO. The other day President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA suddenly went before the Emperor and said that, as the result of talks with the Premier, it was desired to have HONDA, Kumataro and Gen. NARA as advisors to the Privy Council." And the Emperor replied: 'NARA is all right. We will think about HONDA.' At that juncture HIRANUMA outlined the career and honors which HONDA, Kumataro had enjoyed but the Emperor said that he would think it over and did not approve to the last. Then the President of the Privy Council, very upset, came to me (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) and said: 'What shall we do? The Premier's and my opinions have coincided but there is no Imperial sanction. Who

Imperial Patronage

should take the responsibility?' So I said: 'It would be terrible if we had to think of responsibility in case the Imperial sanction were not given on each and every little thing. There are many cases where there is an Imperial sanction and there are others where it is not given. This, in other words, is the Emperor's 'personal politics'.'

"While we (Lord Keeper and HIRANUMA) were talking, the Premier came and joined us and the Emperor, summoning the Lord Keeper, said: 'The President of the Privy Council just came and said: 'How about HONDA and NARA as advisors to the Privy Council....?' So I (Emperor) said: 'NARA is all right. We will think about HONDA.' What shall we do if the Premier comes out and says the same thing?' So I (Lord Keeper) said: 'It will not be good for Your Majesty not to place confidence in HIRANUMA and then to place confidence in HAYASHI. If the Premier should report to you, you should say 'we will think about it', which I think is the suitable thing to do.'

"After that the Premier made his appearance before the Emperor and asked the same thing: 'How about NARA and HONDA as advisors to the Privy Council?' Whereupon the Emperor immediately said to the Premier in regard to HONDA: 'Have you discussed it with the Foreign Minister?' And in regard to Gen. NARA he (Emperor) said: 'Did you speak to the War Minister about it?' Afterwards both of them (Premier and HIRANUMA) came to my (Lord Keeper's) room and excitedly said: 'What shall we do about our responsibility?' So I (Lord Keeper) said: 'Why do you have to think of such a thing at this present time? There are many cases in which Imperial sanctions are asked but not given.' And so

Imperial Patronage

saying the issue was quieted down on the inside. But there is a tendency for the Premier to weigh in the balance rightists and political parties. This is a very distressing situation."

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal went on to say: "HIRANUMA came the other day and said: 'It is distressing that a national policy cannot be decided upon, so how would it be to hold a conference in the Emperor's presence and decide a national policy?'" So saying he concluded seriously: "Will you not ask the Prince what he thinks?"

On the evening of the 6th I had Home Minister KAWARADA come to my relative's place and upon meeting him, he said: "Contemplating the movements of political parties hereafter, the future has to be thought of. How would it be for Prince KONOYE to act as a mediator?" This was the feeling he evidently seemed to hold but he continued to say: "My relations with KONOYE are too deep so it would not be pleasant for me to ask him. I want it done of KONOYE's own will." So I said: "That is very good but the opportunity and method are quite difficult."

I met Finance Minister YUKI on the morning of the 7th and we talked of various things; he too seemed to want to create an atmosphere of cooperation and proceeding along the same lines by saying: "Baron YAMAMOTO is recommending Gen. MINAMI." He was saying this with assurance but I thought it to be false and for the sake of reference I went and called that evening on Baron YAMAMOTO. After finding out that it (what YUKI had said) was absolutely false, I phoned YUKI and said: "I met Baron YAMAMOTO and he said: 'There is absolutely no truth in that.' And on the other hand he said: 'I will watch for a suitable

Imperial Patronage

opportunity to meet Finance Minister YUKI.' So YAMAMOTO could not possibly be thinking of such a thing. He laughed and said: 'Since MINAMI has been over in Korea for less than a year such a thing could not possibly be done.'" This was what I said to Finance Minister YUKI.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 238
(20 May 1937)

"Konoye: Come Forth!"

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

I came to Tokyo on the 10th, and as SHIRANE had wanted to see me all along he came to my room at Sumitomo about 11:00 o'clock. The other day OHASHI, former Chief Secretary in the OKADA Cabinet, had said various things to SHIRANE and SHIRANE, wanting me to hear what he (OHASHI) had said to him, came to me and said: "The clash between the Government and political parties is indeed very distressing. It is the cause of much apprehension. Actually, as for the Premier, he wants to resign but as a successor cannot readily be found he cannot just throw aside (his position) irresponsibly. And actually if both the Seiyukai and the Minseito are to maintain their former attitude it will be very distressing to the Government. In military circles they are all but saying 'go out and wash your face and start over again'. As a result, the Cabinet felt just as before the HAYASHI Cabinet was formed, when Premier HAYASHI with various political party members and government officials got together at ARIMA's home. They did not feel prejudiced toward ready-made political parties or such, or perhaps hold a complete disregard for political parties. To form a new party and make KONOYE the president and thereby to form a KONOYE Cabinet would bring complete satisfaction. To make KONOYE Premier and have HIROTA guide the new party was an idea that was not altogether thought about. You can see for yourself just exactly how badly in need of consideration it is. So saying, he (OHASHI) departed." This was what SHIRANE had to say to me (HARADA).

"Konoye: Come Forth!"

That noon, while having lunch with Communications Minister KODAMA at his official residence, I listened to various things he had to say: "The outlook is gloomy. There is nothing to do but wait until political parties have quieted down to a certain extent before putting forth a mediator. The War Minister says: 'To resign now is to bow to the political parties. . . will be distressing to resign at present.' Gen. TERAUCHI is favoring a second dissolution. And the Navy Minister is saying: 'Is not politics well on its way to a revival. There is nothing to say about.' Justice Minister SHIOWO brought what HIRANUMA said to me: 'You can't resign. You've got to continue.' And Home Minister KAWARADA brought what KONOYE had said to him: 'Don't resign now.' If things are left as they are there will be either a clash in the Diet or a resignation en bloc. At present there is nothing to do but sit still and watch."

Count KODAMA also persistently said: "To make President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA Premier is only to give him more power, which is not good. As time goes on he'll have to quit the Presidency of the Privy Council anyway."

At 1:30 p.m. I met the Minister of Foreign Affairs and asked about the current situation. He said: "As the general opinion upon our diplomacy toward China has been agreed upon by the administrative offices of the Army, Navy and Foreign Ministry, MORISHIMA is being sent to Tientsin and thence to Manchukuo within a few days for the purpose of negotiating with men at outposts. The Army and Navy are sending with MORISHIMA a rather strong aide, thereby assuring their control. Until they return

"Konoye: Come Forth!"

nothing definite can be said but generally speaking I think that they will get together."

At 2:00 o'clock I met the Premier. He said: "The condition of present-day political parties is very distressing. I would like to make the rightists and leftists, as well as the radicals, who are avoiding them (political parties), tread the middle path. The rightists are thought to possess some strong central figures but at the same time there are quite a few characters of bad reputation. I would like somehow to consolidate the military, the political parties and everyone into one great unified mass and to advance with mass force. In this present-day situation to call on Prince SAIONJI is contrary to my will, so I have decided to call on him at some later date."

So I said: "Speaking from the point of the Prince's health it really would be better that you do so (call at some later date). I think that it would be better for the Government to avoid as much as possible the thought that its powers are being mutilated. I believe that it is not necessary for you to force yourself to visit the Prince for quite some time."

That night the War Minister said he wanted to see me, so along with ARITA we went to the Horyu and talked on various topics at our leisure from about 9:00 o'clock to about 11:00 o'clock. The War Minister said: "It is very distressing now for a soldier to become the Premier. However, be that it may, it would be annoying to have HIRANUMA. The (whole) affair is distressing."

It so happened that my health was not very good and not being able to meet him (War Minister) frequently, and especially desiring to have him keep in close contact with

"Konoye: Come Forth!"

Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MATSUDAIRA, I had him (MATSUDAIRA) come to the Horyu right away. After proposing to have them keep in close contact with each other we parted.

On the 12th I went to Okitsu and meeting the Prince reported the general trend. The Prince said: "Isn't it being very irresponsible to order a dissolution and then immediately to have the Cabinet resign? There was the case of the MATSUKATA Cabinet ordering a dissolution and then immediately resigning but it is much too irresponsible. They should at least continue until the Diet session, otherwise whether there is a clash at that time or not it (dissolution) will mean nothing."

The Prince then stated that the British Government, along with the British people, was giving a great ovation to Their Highnesses, Prince and Princess CHICHIBU, saying with great praise: "The method of their doing things is very good. That's England for you."

On the 15th I returned to Oiso and phoned to the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. He said: "The Prince's congratulatory telegram to the British Court was sent on the 11th to the Grand Chamberlain (British)."

A newspaper reporter who had met Major Gen. ISHIHARA came and said: "To leave ISHIHARA in his present status is distressing. This time no one knows whether cannon will start roaring or bombs will be dropped from planes. It isn't going to be anything like the Feb. 26 Incident." He may have been half joking but he was alarmed. And there are others who see great danger in Russo-Japanese negotiations believing that they are attempting to speed up the opening of a Russo-Japanese war. I think, however,

"Konoye: Come Forth!"

that this is aimed at creating an internal revolution. And still another newspaper reporter, claiming it to be the talk of ISHIHARA, came to me and said: "Politics moves by momentum. So why wasn't MATSUOKA made the Foreign Minister when he came back after withdrawing from the League (of Nations)." Somehow, combining the talk of ISHIHARA and TOKAWA, there seemed to be some connection there with MATSUOKA. I secretly thought there was something queer.

On the 18th Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MATSUDAIRA came to me and said: "The other day Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau USHIROKU came to KIDO and said: 'The next (Premier) must be Prince KONOYE. There is nobody else so can't it be reasoned out with KONOYE so that he will emerge?' KIDO naturally did not come out with a clear cut-reply, but said: 'Even if you say such a thing it is more easily said than done.' And such being said he (USHIROKU) departed. But whether he came (to talk of such things) with the War Minister's consent or whether he came of his own accord after being told by ISHIHARA, that part is all vague."

Then MATSUDAIRA said: "Just three or four days ago, after the banquet of five Imperial families, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal met and talked to KONOYE for about two and a half hours. At that time he (Lord Keeper) said: 'Maybe in this case you will have to take over the succeeding Cabinet. From certain angles this may be the most suitable time. If you could just appear for a short time and then withdraw after creating a generally good atmosphere it would be fine.' After he had tried to induce him by saying various things, KONOYE just said: 'My health

/ "Konoye: Come Forth!"

will not possibly allow it. I won't do it.' And if I (Lord Keeper) had kept urging him it would have terminated the talk (negotiation) all the more, so leaving a leeway, I took leave." This was what MATSUDAIRA said that the Lord Keeper had said.

MATSUDAIRA kept saying this to me, but I had my doubts that it (for KONOYE to emerge and retire) could be done so nicely and cleanly within such a short period of time. I spoke to him (MATSUDAIRA) on that point but the Lord Keeper was greatly distressed over the fact that there were absolutely no candidates for the succeeding cabinet. He said that according to the talk of a newspaper reporter the other day in regard to the talk about ISHIHARA: "There are absolutely no people (of worth). And unless an upheaval occurs and the nation is toppled, men (of worth) will not come forth." It looks just as though there is an atmosphere of waiting for a revolution or upheaval to occur.

When he asked SAKAYA, Kiichi about ISHIHARA he said: "I know his diligent side; he may be a person with extreme qualifications but I don't know."

I said to MATSUDAIRA: "In regard to the talk just now about USHIROKU, don't you think that it would be better to meet and ask the War Minister first, to determine whether he (USHIROKU) conferred with him (War Minister) or not?" MATSUDAIRA said: "I'll meet Minister SUGIYAMA personally and ask him" and so saying departed.

During the conversation I also said to MATSUDAIRA: "TOMITA, Governor of Aichi Prefecture, is here and evidently conferring frequently with 5th Division Commander ITAGAKI. So why don't you ask him (TOMITA) about

"Konoye: Come Forth!"

ITAGAKI's character?"

The other day I had met TOMITA, Governor of Aichi Prefecture, and said: "I want you to do a little studying on ITAGAKI as a man."

The day after MATSUDAIRA returned to Tokyo, that is on the 19th, he phoned me and said: "The War Minister came to the Lord Keeper and said: 'It would be very convenient if KONOYE could come forth but....' The War Minister evidently knows that USHIROKU came to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal."

Whether he (USHIROKU) pointed out KONOYE to the War Minister is not quite clear yet, but at the time of the previous political change Gen. SUGIYAMA said: "KONOYE, HAYASHI, MINAMI and OSUMI are all unacceptable. For KONOYE or HAYASHI to be used as robots of the younger set, coming out with the condition pressed upon them that they make ITAGAKI and SUETSUGU War and Navy Ministers respectively, would be very distressing." So saying, he (SUGIYAMA) was avoiding KONOYE.

However, the present War and Navy Ministers are saying: "The selection of military ministers must be decided by the central figures of the Army. There should absolutely be no one else saying this or that." Such being the case, in this present situation that point will be safe. So it seems that it would be very convenient if KONOYE were to appear.

On the 19th I talked it over generally with Gen. TERAUCHI, and he too said: "ITAGAKI is out of the question. He isn't that sort of person. Just because ISHIHARA can use him as he pleases he is urging that ITAGAKI be made the War Minister with the purpose of

"Konoye: Come Forth!"

using him as a robot. We think that is absolutely no good. And because ISHIHARA can't use me freely he evidently is expressing dissatisfaction. Great care should be taken in regard to ISHIHARA. If by chance he is doing various things on the sly, that sort of person should be discharged. And I have decided to have ITAGAKI discharged this time; that is why he was made the Hiroshima Division Commander."

In regard to KONOYE Gen. TERAUCHI continued to say: "It would be very good if KONOYE wouldn't do what the younger ones told him to do, but straight-forwardly and truthfully worked along with us. It would indeed be very convenient to have Prince KONOYE come out (into public office)."

I said to TERAUCHI: "The younger men in the Army are saying: 'Break the present condition or look for revolution'; and they are evidently being boosted by the Reds. There is a tendency toward violence and the brass hats of the Army should watch out for this."

Then TERAUCHI said: "Wouldn't it be good to make HIRANUMA Premier and thus make him quit the presidency of the Privy Council and be slapped down once?" To which I replied: "Once he is made premier it will be distressing if he should gather that much more power. There are also arguments that it would be better that he be not made premier at all." TERAUCHI said: "I see, that is also true."

After that there was a report to the effect: "It would be unpleasant to have the Government and political parties come to clashes over such a thing. The Genro and the central figures are thinking of making somebody a mediator to alleviate the strain."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 239
(3 June 1937)

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

Translated by Lieut. Shiro Omata

On the 21st I went to Okitsu and made a general report. At that time I mentioned what HIRANUMA had said to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "Let's hold a council in the Imperial presence and determine the national policy." To this remark, the Prince responded: "There is much to be said, but I shall remain quiet."

I believe that if the council in the Imperial presence were the wish of the Emperor it would be a different story. However, should the council in the Imperial presence be held for the purposes of those who plot a conspiracy or without any purpose, it would be detrimental. This was practicable in the past, when YAMAMOTO, Gombei was alive. And now KATO, Kanji is instigating HIRANUMA to hold the council in the Imperial presence. We must take precautions to guard against it. Since the Prince enjoined: "Let's keep quiet," I did not press the matter further.

I returned home from Okitsu on the morning of the 23rd. In the afternoon, ODA, who is a friend of KONOYE and of TOKUGAWA, Yorisada, called on me. He said: "A ronin who frequents General Staff Headquarters stated that one company of SUZUKI-Butai, situated on the Russo-Manchurian border, was annihilated." He (ODA) further stated: "Opposition between advisors from the political parties and others exists within the Privy Council. It is necessary that we keep close watch over the actions of HIRANUMA in regard to this. It is a regrettable fact that

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

the relationship between the political parties and the Cabinet has become so aggravated. Isn't there anyone who could take necessary step to reconcile them?" He (ODA) continued: "Commander of the Kempeitai NAKAJIMA will cease supporting Governor-General MINAMI and will support and cooperate with Premier HAYASHI until a worthy Cabinet is formed."

On the 24th Governor-General of Formosa KOBAYASHI is to arrive in Tokyo. He said: "I will meet you in Tokyo at noon." After making this appointment I called on YONAI, Navy Minister, at his official residence about 9:00 a.m. At this meeting I told him: "In regard to the council in the Imperial presence, it is nothing new. However, President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA has repeatedly recommended that: 'We should have a council in the Imperial presence.' In the past this was practiced by Count YAMAMOTO, Gombei. And now Admiral KATO, Kenji is a strong advocate of it, and he is inciting President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA.

"In regard to the council in the Imperial presence, since YAMAMOTO advocated it, the Prince thinks that: 'The council in the Imperial presence should not be held aimlessly. One must give deep consideration to the purpose of the council, as well as the persons present. Should the policy adopted at the meeting not be executed, the council in the Imperial presence would have no effect. Consequently it would affect the prestige of the Emperor. We must be very careful.'

"Since it is feared that there is a scheme behind the council in the Imperial presence, Prince SAIONJI is very cautious and does not approve of it. It is impera-

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

tive that one member of the Cabinet be informed of this. Since the relationship between Premier HAYASHI and the President of the Privy Council is extremely intimate, I believe that we must be very careful. As a righteous act, I want you to bear this in your mind."

Wondering about the truth of the report received from the Imperial Navy stationed in Manchuria regarding the annihilation of one company of a troop of the SUZUKI Unit, YAMAMOTO, Vice-Minister of the Navy, who was also present, stated that only two soldiers were taken prisoner by the Russians. YAMAMOTO made it clear that it was impossible for the Russians to annihilate one company and that it was nothing more than a rumor.

I met Admiral KOBAYASHI at the home of TAKAGI located at Toriizaka. We conversed from 11:00 a.m. until approximately 1:00 p.m. Admiral KOBAYASHI stated: "When I saw the Premier, it seemed that he was fatigued. He has the appearance of desiring to resign as quickly as possible." In regard to the Foreign Minister, KOBAYASHI further stated: "It seemed that the Foreign Minister has become emaciated."

On the 28th I went to Tokyo again and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, who said: "A few days ago I met HIRANUMA, President of the Privy Council. He stated: 'Great Britain and Japan must collaborate. We must also safeguard our Constitution.' These statements are indeed true. HIRANUMA also stated: 'The present Commander of the Kempeitai is not a very well-qualified man. This Cabinet is not a people's Cabinet. I want to have HAYASHI (Premier) resign before he blenishes his record. Since our government is a parliamentary government we must

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

recognize the existence of political parties.' HIRANUMA inquired: 'At the time of the formation of the next Cabinet, do you believe that the military will interfere?' (According to what the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had to say) These are the good points in HIRANUMA."

Since I had criticized the irresponsibility of HIRANUMA too severely, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal defended him by citing HIRANUMA's good points. It was the opinion of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that: "The ronin of the rightist group are relying on the other power to influence the Cabinet. It is the weakness of this Cabinet that it is influenced by this power. The nature of the rightists is generally to oppose Government officials." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had the same opinion as that expressed by President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA and stated: "This government is not for the people."

I told the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "The opinion expressed by the Prince was: 'It is extremely irresponsible of the Cabinet to resign when the Diet session is over and it is dissolved. Although there is a great deal of commotion now, the political parties may change their attitude by the time the Diet session is convened. Should the Premier resign now saying: 'This is too distressing,' political affairs will become more confused. This will be an extremely irresponsible action on the part of the Government. The Cabinet must remain until the Diet session is over.'"

In reply the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal stated: "I am certain that he will refuse and I believe that for the next premier there is no one but KONOYE. I urged

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

KONOYE to accept the position of Premiership, however, he would not accept." I told the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal what Lt. Gen. HAYASHI, Kei said to me: "His Imperial Highness Prince KANIN issued a strict order that military personnel must not meddle in political affairs."

On my way home I stopped at the Foreign Ministry and met the Foreign Minister. He said: "I haven't very much to say. KOSLOVSKI is to come to Japan as the Russian Ambassador. When he was attached to the Russian Consulate at Harbin he failed to pay proper respect to the Imperial portrait on the Emperor's birthday. Saying that it was a lese-majeste affair the rightists are causing considerable commotion. When this incident occurred the newspapers controlled by the White Russians publicized it. As a result it appeared in the Japanese papers and created a commotion in Japan. At that time it was investigated by the Foreign Ministry, however, it was discovered that there was nothing to it. AMAWA firmly believed that KOSLOVSKI displayed the proper respect. The Foreign Ministry is not attaching importance to this incident."

"The negotiation between Great Britain and Japan will commence soon. The present Foreign Minister of Great Britain, Mr. EDEN, is now attending the Council of the League of Nations. After his return sometime next month, I believe that the conference will commence. The instructions issued are very moderate and it appears that London is very well satisfied with them. It is my ambition to give a sense of security to China, Manchukuo and Japan. I also hope to give assurance to Great Britain."

On the 29th I departed for Okitsu and called on the

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

Prince. I conversed with him on subjects above discussed and made a general report. In regard to a conference in the Imperial presence, the Prince emphatically stated: "The primary purpose of the so-called conference in the Imperial presence, proposed by HIRANUMA, is to submit the matter for an Imperial decision. If the conference were to be held for the purpose of an Imperial decision, who would assume the responsibility of advising the Emperor in reaching the decision? (The Emperor cannot assume responsibility for the decision given). And if this conference is to be held as a political maneuver, that is, to add importance to the matter, there are various other means of achieving it. On or about 1887, when Prince YAMAGATA was chosen to attend the Coronation ceremony of the Russian Emperor, the conference in the Imperial presence was held to select the person. At that time I informed the Emperor: 'Prince YAMAGATA, who is courteous and commands the confidence of the people, is the suitable person.' It was decided that YAMAGATA was to attend the ceremony. When a conference in the Imperial presence is proposed by persons who have the confidence of the Emperor and a decision is reached on the matter one can clearly see that he has the full confidence of the Emperor. The Emperor dispatches a responsible person (referring to YAMAGATA) since he believes that the promise will be fulfilled and also that confidence can be placed in the statement made by this person. The lese-majeste affair involving injury to the Crown Prince when he was visiting Japan will consequently be expiated (by sending a man of YAMAGATA's calibre). Instead of discussing with us the problem of Anglo-Japanese cooperation, HIRANUMA

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

should talk to the military."

The Prince further stated: "Should the Cabinet resign en bloc before the extraordinary session of the Diet is convened, matters will become increasingly complicated. If the Cabinet continues to carry on, fearing that the Diet may be dissolved, there will be some members of the political parties who will change their minds before the Diet is convened. The persons who hope for the resignation of the Cabinet are making an attempt to force the Cabinet to resign before this occurs. The so-called 'Imperial absolutism' (whereby the Emperor is responsible for all of the state affairs), which has become popular recently, is a extremely risky phrase. It is like having the Emperor sitting on top of a fishing pole. Should anything go wrong, he must assume the responsibility and abdicate, and somebody else must replace the Emperor. Generally speaking, the principle of the Japanese Constitution is like Mt. Fuji, that is, the foundation is solid and the Emperor sits on the peak."

I returned home (at Oiso) on the 29th. On the morning of the 30th, Prince KONOYE phoned me at Oiso from Tokyo and stated: "When I returned home from Kansai yesterday, the Premier telephoned me and said: 'I am sending Chief Cabinet Secretary OHASHI in my place to see you sometime this morning.' The purpose of sending OHASHI was to say: 'I (Premier) am resigning my post. I want you to succeed me.' I refused this proposal by saying: 'It is impossible for me to accept since my health is poor, and furthermore, I still lack experience.'"

It seems that the Premier asked KONOYE, hoping that, by chance, KONOYE might accept the premiership. The Premier

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

phoned me and said: "Since KONOYE refused my proposal, I intend to have War Minister SUGIYAMA as my successor. Before the Imperial audience which is to be held on the 2nd, after the Cabinet meeting, I am going to express my intention to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. This will be kept strictly secret from the other members of the Cabinet. Since he may refuse it, I haven't even informed SUGIYAMA, War Minister. I want you to understand this circumstance. I (Premier) am known as Gen. HAYASHI of the Army in foreign countries. Looking at it from the standpoint of foreign relations, for me to resign from the Cabinet at this time means that the military have lost the political struggle to the political parties. Consequently this will affect national prestige and will be detrimental. Moreover, China will take advantage of this. I believe Gen. SUGIYAMA should succeed me. If you are feeling well, it is imperative that you call on me tonight. I intend to have KIDO come and discuss this problem with me also. Please come tonight."

I refused to meet the Premier that night by saying: "I will see you at noon tomorrow." I immediately dispatched a detailed letter to the Prince at Okitsu on this matter. At the same time I called the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and informed him of the letter which I had written to the Prince.

Wondering what took place when OHASHI, Chief Cabinet Secretary, called on KONOYE, I called KONOYE at his Mejiro residence that evening at approximately 7:00 p.m. KONOYE said: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal phoned me and said: 'I heard this from HARADA, and it is very distressing. I must see you.' He came over to the

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

detached house located here (Mejiro) at approximately 3:00 p.m., and we discussed this matter. We had Chief Cabinet Secretary OHASHI come once more and held a conference. It was agreed that a cabinet with Gen. SUGIYAMA as premier would be formed. It is imperative that you come to Tokyo tonight."

I immediately left for Tokyo on the 8:00 p.m. train and proceeded to Kuwana to meet KONOYE. KIDO was there also and they were in the midst of conversation. The gist of the conversation was generally the same as the conversation we had over the telephone. It was as follows: "The Imperial audience scheduled to be held on the 2nd was suddenly changed to tomorrow. In regard to the question of who is going to give detailed information to HIRANUMA concerning this subject, it seemed that the Premier intended to despatch OHASHI, Chief Cabinet Secretary, at first. However, should HIRANUMA oppose this plan, it will be very embarrassing. It is better that the Premier call upon him personally. From the sentimental standpoint as well as to insure that the matter would proceed without mishap, the Premier should call on HIRANUMA and discuss the matter with him." It was decided that: "KIDO should call on the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on this topic and have a discussion with him." KIDO left to call on the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. On the other hand, KONOYE located OHASHI and gave him instructions.

KIDO, who called on the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at his private residence, returned at approximately 11:30 p.m. Since the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal agreed to KIDO's proposal, I decided to leave for Okitsu in the

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

morning of the next day on the 9:00 a.m. Tsubame to report to the Prince on this matter. After talking to the Navy Minister over the telephone in the morning of the next day, I immediately departed for Okitsu. Upon my arrival, I called on the Prince and reported on the developments which had taken place since yesterday. The Prince (SAIONJI) stated: "It is undesirable to have the Minister of War become Premier. Isn't it possible to force KONOYE to accept it? Until now I have been hesitant to have KONOYE take over the premiership. If at all possible, I wanted to keep him out. However, if you are asking for my opinion, it is impossible for me to agree to a person in whom I have no confidence. The matter must follow logical reasoning. In view of the present situation, there is no one better suited than KONOYE although it is regrettable that it may cause him inconvenience."

I returned to my hotel after this conversation. I called KIDO and MATSUDAIRA and informed them of the opinion expressed by the Prince. When I called the Lord Keeper and informed him of this, he was quite concerned and stated: "I don't believe that KONOYE will accept." However, on the same evening, KIDO succeeded in persuading KONOYE to accept the premiership. I called KONOYE on the phone and informed him: "Although SUGIYAMA was recommended as the next premier, it was finally decided that you are the most logical choice." KONOYE said: "You are putting me on the spot." Previously I had told KONOYE: "I believe it possible that you may be the next premier." At that time, KONOYE stated: "Unless you have an alternate it will be distressing to me."

When I called on the Prince (SAIONJI) the second

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

time, he emphatically stated: "No matter what is said, KONOYE is the best choice. Under the circumstances, this is regrettable. However, it is unavoidable." Thus Prince SAIONJI expressed his firm determination. The matter which always gave most anxiety to the Prince (SAIONJI) at the time of the formation of the new Cabinet was the situation of the Foreign Minister.

Although the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was scheduled to arrive on the night of the 30th it was decided that he was to come by the train arriving at Okitsu at 9:15 a.m. on the 31st. According to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Premier HAYASHI called the Cabinet meeting on the morning of the 30th and expressed his firm determination to resign. At a little past noon he proceeded to the Imperial Palace and informed the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of his intention, and in the afternoon he called another Cabinet meeting. At approximately 5:00 p.m. the same evening it was decided that the Cabinet would resign en bloc. The resignation was submitted to the Throne. It was the intention of the Premier to recommend War Minister SUGIYAMA as his successor and to have the other Ministers remain at their posts. However, the Imperial command was issued to KONOYE to form the next Cabinet. Matters did not proceed as the Premier had planned.

On the morning of the 31st the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal came to Okitsu and conversed with the Prince (SAIONJI) from approximately 9:20 a.m. until 11 a.m. From 11 a.m. on I entertained the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He showed me the list with the names of the tentative Cabinet members which had been discussed between

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

KIDO and KONOYE. I was asked: "Please state your opinion on this." When I looked at the personnel of the new Cabinet, NAGAI, Ryutaro was listed as Foreign Minister. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "This is outrageous. I believe a man like HIROTA is better suited." For the office of Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, KAZAMI, Akira was listed as the first choice of KONOYE.

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had an early lunch at the Prince's and left for Tokyo on the Fuji-go (train). He proceeded to the Akasaka official residence where KONOYE was staying. As requested by Prince KONOYE, he held a conference with him. At the same time he inquired about the health of KONOYE. After returning home the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal proceeded to the Imperial Palace and had an audience with the Emperor. He replied to the Imperial inquiry by recommending Prince KONOYE as the Premier of the next Cabinet. KONOYE received the Imperial summons on the same day. He retired after accepting the Imperial command to form the next Cabinet.

In the beginning it was the intention of Prince KONOYE to keep the sitting Navy and War Ministers. In regard to economic and financial affairs he intended to follow the policy pursued by YUKI. However, due to the request from the Army, BABA received a post in the Cabinet. Consequently, YUKI resigned and Vice-Minister of Finance KAYA was appointed as Finance Minister. KODAMA, Kenji was approached before KAYA was appointed as Finance Minister. KODAMA, who was on his way back to Tokyo, was met by Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau USHIROKU on the train. He was informed of matters in regard to the Army budget. When KODAMA was asked for his opinion, he

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

stated: "I believe that it is impossible for me to approve of such a stupendous budget." He further expressed his frank opinion on the financial policy of BABA, that is the economic and financial affairs of the present time, and departed.

It is the ambition of the Army to have a Finance Minister who will be friendly to the Army. In the beginning it was the desire of the Army to have BABA as Finance Minister, however, Prince KONOYE did not yield to this pressure. Consequently the Army was satisfied with having BABA as a member of the Cabinet. It was also the plan of the Army to have YUKI remain in the Cabinet but he did not accept this and finally withdrew. The fact that the former Finance Minister BABA became a member of the Cabinet caused the popularity of the new Cabinet to drop.

As for the selection of the Foreign Minister, Prince SAIONJI was deeply concerned. When I was at Okitsu, he frequently asked me: "Who is going to be the Foreign Minister?" When I spoke to KONOYE over the telephone, it seemed that he wanted to have HIROTA as Foreign Minister. I phoned HIROTA and said: "The Prince is gravely concerned over the selection of the Foreign Minister. Prince KONOYE's opinion is that: 'If it is at all possible, I would like to have HIROTA serve as Foreign Minister.' It is imperative that you accept it. I want you to support young Prince KONOYE and help him fulfil his duty without losing his popularity or committing any blunder. Should you accept, the popularity of BABA can be regained also. You must aid Prince KONOYE."

HIROTA replied: "Just at this moment ATSUGI, KONOYE's

Konoye Succeeds Hayashi

Secretary is here to discuss the subject with me. I am concerned over the fear that by accepting this post I may cause embarrassment to Prince KONOYE." To this statement, I replied: "I am positive that it won't be so. Please accept it."

HIROTA finally accepted the post of Foreign Minister by saying: "In that case, I will accept it."

Seionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 240
(9 June 1937)

Konoye's Cabinet

Translated by S/Sgt. George Kakehashi

When I spoke over the telephone with the War Minister, he said: "I have already spoken to the Premier saying: 'HIROTA is good enough'.... Even if YUKI remains as the Finance Minister he will never complain. If he (Premier) considers a ministerial portfolio for BABA, that will be sufficient." So I said to SUGIYAMA: "BABA may be convenient for the Army, however, on the whole, he would be very unsatisfactory. The KONOYE Cabinet was formed for a certain purpose, and if something goes wrong, matters will be complicated. Therefore it is all right to support BABA, but unless we prevent the Army from utilizing BABA for some evil purpose the object of having KONOYE serve as Premier will be lost. I would like to have you consider that point well." SUGIYAMA repeatedly requested: "Please ask Prince KONOYE to come to me to discuss any matters regardless of what happens.... The Army will rise and support Prince KONOYE."

Then I spoke over the telephone to the Navy Minister about the period of the formation of the Cabinet. The Navy Minister was highly resentful saying: "It seems that the nucleus of the Army is engineering something, and that is indeed impertinent." So I said to the Navy Minister: "The fact is that the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau went part of the way to meet the former President of the Yokohama Specie Bank, KODAMA, and spoke aboard the train about the budget for a very large Army. KODAMA said: 'I cannot assume any responsibility for such a large budget.

Konoye's Cabinet

Anyway, the present plan for the tax system is very poor. The cause of the rise in price of commodities is the fact that for Japan the national defence expenditure is burdensome and thus, for the sake of the budget, everything becomes expensive.... I have spoken about the international balance of payments and expressed my opinions vigorously. It seems that these considerations never entered the mind of the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, so I think that this story will end without any knowledge to others. Thus I am in no position to accept the responsibility."

The Navy Minister said: "The Premier's idea is to have someone fill the position of the Finance Minister, and after the Cabinet is formed, to have the discussion pertaining to the budget within the Cabinet. That is all very well, but to apply pressure to compel an individual, or to threaten him while he is considering his candidacy is a cowardly thing to do. It is a very impudent act!" Thus the Navy Minister was very vexed by the manner in which the War Minister conducted himself and he kept saying: "This is what the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau is doing, and actually there is no reason why the War Minister should know about it. May it not be, perhaps, that the War Minister doesn't know about it?" However, I spoke later to the War Minister over the telephone for the second time. When I informed him of that matter and asked him: "Don't you know about it?", he replied: "I also know about it." Lost for words, I cut off my telephone conversation right then.

At first it was KAWARADA who was to be the Chief Secretary, but a change was made to the original proposal and KAZAMI, Akira was made Chief Secretary. On the

Konoye's Cabinet

evening of the 4th at 4:00 o'clock the general investiture ceremony was held, and hence I witnessed the formation of the KONOYE Cabinet. The Prince rejoiced keenly and said: "I would like to aid KONOYE somehow. As for the Foreign Minister, HIROTA was just the man. Well, I would like to have HIROTA aid KONOYE as much as possible."

On the 5th ARITA came to Oiso and spoke of various matters, but there wasn't any great change to be mentioned. On the 6th Gen. TERAUCHI came and spoke of numerous issues. At some point in the conversation I said that I had heard: "HATOYAMA is approaching ISHIHARA and others of the Army and is rousing a spirit of opposition to the present Government. Furthermore, the ISHIHARA group is saying this and that about the newly-formed Cabinet." I related that story and asked TERAUCHI: "Aren't they starting something again?" TERAUCHI replied resentfully: "That is very impertinent!"

Then I spoke about the Commandant of the Kempeitai, whom KONOYE was greatly concerned with, and said: "Recently the attitude of the Kempeitai has been extremely unfavourable. They hold assemblies and make speeches and interfere wherever they go. Since they overstep their official power as though they were policemen the situation is not very pleasant." TERAUCHI grieved, saying: "Well, it will be changed to some extent by the coming change of personnel. However, as SUGIYAMA is weak, it is perplexing." So I said to TERAUCHI: "Your group speaks well of BABA. The Army believes everything that it says, from one to ten. In any case, if it is on matters relating to military affairs this is well; but on matters relating to finance and economy, the Army is out of place."

Konoye's Cabinet

Furthermore, merely to listen to everything that an individual who has no knowledge or experience along that line says, and then to try to please His Majesty is not always sincere of the Army, nor is it, of course, loyal devotion to the nation." Gen. TERAUCHI nodded in assent.

On the morning of the 7th I went to Tokyo, met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and greeted him. I also met KIDO and MATSUDAIRA. Then I visited the Minister of the Imperial Household, whom I hadn't seen for a long time, and heard about the internal situation of the Ministry of the Imperial Household and complaints such as that Vice-Chamberlain HIROHATA interferes with many activities of the Ministry.

Then I spoke to Premier KONOYE over the telephone, and as it was not wise for me to visit the official residence too obviously, KONOYE said: "Well, let's meet again," and sent me his secretary. Later, ARAI of the Ministry of Railways came and cautioned me saying: "If the Vice-Minister is changed now in the Railways Ministry, where there are many trainmen, it will ultimately result in my resignation. It is odd, but there are very few officials who can conduct a negotiation with the trainmen successfully. It is an odd thing for me to say, but I am in good favor with the trainmen. If KIYASU is left where he is, then I can remain in my present position. The other day the leading members of the trainmen assembled at Odawara and began to raise a protest in regard to salaries and wages. Therefore, as this is a critical time, it is better not to change the Vice-Minister or the personnel." I had KONOYE's secretary convey this caution to KONOYE. I also added: "Among the secretaries of the

Konoye's Cabinet

Cabinet, there are those who, because of their extremely long service, use high-handed methods, and there is considerable criticism. So it is important that we take large measures of precaution against such individuals, as the Chief Secretary is only a novice."

In the evening, when I was about to return to Oiso, a telephone call came from Premier KONOYE saying: "It is urgent that I see you,, so won't you come to my private residence?" So I went to his residence on Nagata-cho and waited for KONOYE. The Premier returned soon and said: "A very perplexing matter is the problem of the president of the Planning Office. On that matter one side has joined with KAYA and YOSHINO while War Minister SUGIYAMA and BABA have aligned themselves with the other. The Army desires to push BABA to any extent necessary for the presidency of the Planning Office. But in the present situation for BABA to be made the president is absolutely impossible. Thus, the atmosphere is as though they oppose each other, and the newspapers are writing this, one of the difficulties of the Cabinet, as an article of interest day after day. This is very annoying. Since I thought I would like to have the matter settled immediately, I sent the former Minister of Home Affairs, KAWARADA, to Foreign Minister HIROTA saying: 'By all means, please accept the post of Vice-Premier.' He (HIROTA) is avoiding me saying: 'The fact is that I am carrying on as a specialist in diplomacy. If I begin to spread myself into other activities it won't be good for foreign relations.' So won't you approach him, saying: 'The Prince is worried so....' or: 'I wish to request you to aid the Prince,' or something to that effect. As this is very urgent, will you

Konoye's Cabinet

please remain here and do it tonight?"

So I replied: "In any case, I don't have much time, but I shall see him immediately." Just then, Foreign Minister HIROTA was conversing with the resident diplomats, namely the ambassadors and ministers of the various countries, so during that time I requested the secretary to let me in saying that it was urgent that (the matter) be settled.... I met Foreign Minister HIROTA in another room. I said to him: "The reason why I came so suddenly to bother you is that ever since the KONOYE Cabinet was formed Prince SAIONJI has been greatly concerned to make it as sound as possible and to have it make as good a record as it possibly can. At this time, to have the newspapers write daily about the issue of the presidency of the Planning Office creates a very bad atmosphere and it is very unsatisfactory. Now if this were some five or six months after the Cabinet was formed it would be another matter. But to have had it occur as soon as the Cabinet was formed is not very good. As Prince KONOYE desires to decide the presidency as soon as possible he sincerely requests you to accept the presidency of the Planning Office with the status of Vice-Premier." Foreign Minister HIROTA persisted in saying: "Somehow I think that it is better for me to carry on as a specialist in diplomacy, so...." I interrupted, saying: "I think that for former Finance Minister BABA to hold the post of Minister of Home Affairs is very regrettable for the welfare of the KONOYE Cabinet. If you don't accept the presidency of the Planning Office at this time the nucleus of the Cabinet will again waver and will create great difficulties for the new Premier. The fact is that on my way here from Okitsu the Prince

Konoye's Cabinet

requested me to meet you and convey to you this message: 'As the former Premier, you already have experience, and to have you become a member of the Cabinet this time is indeed a matter of congratulation for the nation. So, with an overall significance at this time, please aid Prince KONOYE and be the pillar of this Cabinet.' Prince KONOYE expressed a similar opinion today, and there was also the same opinion from the Prince, so that is why I came here. Somehow, I would like to have your acceptance." Thus I spoke at length on the actuality of the opposing forces in the Cabinet. Foreign Minister HIROTA readily agreed, saying: "In that case, I shall accept the post."

Then I said: "Thank you very much. I believed that the Premier and, of course, the Prince, will be greatly relieved. Moreover, should there be any unfortunate circumstances after assuming the office, or should there be any reply to the questions relating to the Diet, these may, of course, after deliberation with the Premier, be answered by the Vice-Premier, who is an administrative official, as a member of the Government. Again, there was talk that it is not satisfactory for you (HIROTA) to hold another post concurrently besides the one which is your responsibility, but I have heard of an instance when Prince SAIONJI held another ministry concurrently with the Premiership. So I think that there is absolutely no need to worry." Then, with parting remarks, I left HIROTA and went immediately to Prince KONOYE's private residence. There I related my conversation to the Premier and he rejoiced greatly, saying: "When you return to Okitsu please convey my sincere gratitude to the Prince." Then I returned immediately to Oiso.

Konoye's Cabinet

Later, according to the story which I heard from the Chief Secretary of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MATSUDAIRA: "The other day His Majesty called the Grand Chamberlain and reprimanded saying: 'The Army has been insistently saying: 'KONOYE, KONOYE', and wanting him for Premier. Finally, when KONOYE became the Premier, they seem to make all sorts of difficult demands. Just what is their reason?"

On the afternoon of the 8th Chief Secretary KAZAMI visited me and conversed for about an hour. After he had gone, USHIBA, the Premier's secretary, came and chatted on various matters before returning home.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 241
(18 June 1937)

Abe Chides the Army

Translated by S/Sgt. George Kakehashi

On the afternoon of the 9th I went to Osaka on business aboard the 'Fuji'. En route I met the present President, KUSAMA, of Sanjin Kaisha (Gold Mining Company) of Manchukuo. KUSAMA was greatly concerned, saying: "In the economic world, since the Governor of the Bank of Japan, IKEDA, is ill and is resting at present, it seems that BABA is saying that perhaps Governor IKEDA may quit, or that because of his illness he may resign. If, perchance, he resigns, then he may push forward for the Tokyo post such individuals as his own protege, the President of the Hypothec Bank, ISHII, or ARIGA of the Industrial Bank of Korea. Thus the influence of BABA is spreading in the financial world." In the first place, KUSAMA had been ill-treated previously, so the personal relations between the two were not favorable. Perhaps that is why he made such remarks, but since he said that there were a good many who held such extensive misgivings, I too became worried. On the morning of the following day, after I reached Osaka, I telephoned the Chief Secretary and said: "I heard this sort of a story; unless we announce that the Governor of the Bank of Japan has decided to remain in office it may be very annoying. It is indeed very unfavorable for the financial world." It seems that the Chief Secretary conveyed that message to the Finance Minister immediately, for in the middle of that night, there came a telephone call from the Chief Secretary in Tokyo saying: "We have announced the decision of IKEDA to remain as Governor of the Bank of

Abe Chides the Army

Japan, so...."

Just before my departure, Chief Secretary OHASHI came and said: "Former Premier HAYASHI desires to meet Prince SAIONJI and to speak to him." So I asked the Chief Secretary OHASHI: "Won't it be better to wait and see what the situation will be and then to meet him later?" Thinking that it would be better for HAYASHI to see the Prince after the latter had returned to Gotemba, I declined the request.

At noon on the 10th, when I was about to return after having visited the main office of the Sumitomo Bank, I met Gen. ABE, Nobuyuki. Since Gen. ABE said: "As we have met here, I would like to speak to you at leisure...." I had him come to my hotel and we conversed for about two hours. Gen. ABE said: "At the time of the political change of Gen. UGAKI's administration, I became greatly concerned. It was not the matter of whether it was bad to oust UGAKI then or at some appropriate moment. Rather it was that although there was an Imperial command to Gen. UGAKI in accordance with the Imperial prerogative the "brains" of the Army checked action upon it; this is of grave importance. Particularly, since the Prince, Chief of the General Staff, is one of the three chiefs, I thought that His Imperial Highness's attitude is indeed important. So, I telephoned Prince KAN-IN's intendant and asked him to convey to His Imperial Highness the following message: 'As long as there was an Imperial command to Gen. UGAKI in accordance with the Imperial prerogative, the checking of such action by the Army is not very satisfactory. I believe that it is proper for you as one of the three chiefs to protect His Majesty's Imperial prerogative and

Abe Chides the Army

repress the Army, but....' When the intendant INUGAKI conveyed my verbal message, it seems that His Imperial Highness went to the General Staff Headquarters and took the attitude which I (ABE) had cautioned him to take. On the following day Major Gen. ISHIHARA came and said: 'It is desirable for you not to cause anything at this time. We are not absolutely opposed to having UGAKI serve the nation. However, the MAZAKI case is not yet settled. Especially, since there are the March Incident and many other matters to consider, we think that it is a very inopportune moment now. We do not have any objection to Gen. UGAKI himself. Please do not say anything.'

"So I (ABE) asked: 'Then is the March Incident the only issue which confronts UGAKI?' Then ISHIHARA replied: 'The March Incident is the only issue,' and returned home. Although it is more or less doubtful that matters within the Army will subside, I wish to exert my efforts in obscurity as much as possible for the sake of the Army." So I said: "We would like to have an individual like yourself, who has good understanding, conduct himself very firmly so that the supreme command may be exercised for the sake of the Army. The fact is that everyone is vexed by Commandant of the Kempeitai NAKAJIMA. Furthermore, the Chief Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty isn't such a bad individual but I think that it is necessary for the Army to appoint as the Chief Aide-de-Camp an individual whose nature can truly understand His Majesty's words and feelings. As for Commandant of the Kempeitai NAKAJIMA, since he says such exaggerated and indiscriminate things, everyone is perplexed. Unless you bear in mind that

Abe Chides the Army

point, things will not go so smoothly with the police force of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Unless you give considerable thought to such points, it will be difficult." Gen. ABE laughingly said: "There is an amusing story connected with that matter. I just heard it the other day; former Commandant of the Kempeitai Lt. Gen. HATA recently went to NAKAJIMA and advised him saying: 'From the beginning, it was not the function of the Commandant of the Kempeitai to interfere in politics. All he has to do is to concern himself with military affairs.'"

On the 13th the new Premier happened to pay homage at Momoyama in Kyoto on his return trip from Ise. It was decided that the Premier would stop over one night in Kyoto, so a telephone call from the Premier's son-in-law, HOSOKAWA, came to me saying: "I would like to have you come to the house about 7:00 o'clock tonight. As Prince KONOYE is to dine at my place about 7:30, I would like to have you come also, by all means." I went a little early, so as to avoid the newspaper reporters. We conversed at leisure on various matters as we dined. KONOYE said: "It is better to visit Prince SAIONJI after he has moved to Gotenba." I agreed saying: "That would be better." About 9:30 Prince KONOYE returned to his hotel, and I reached home about 10:00 o'clock.

On the following day I joined the four new Ministers, who came down to Kansai and whose appointments were announced from Nagoya. We conversed on numerous matters, and then I got off (the train) at Shizuoka. On the morning of the following day (15th) I went to the Prince's residence. However, before going there I telephoned

Abe Chides the Army

Foreign Minister HIROTA from the inn and inquired about the complicated conditions in Russia. He said: "Marshal TUKHACHEVSKY is a second Napoleon to the Red Army and is gaining popularity. To command the forces of the Red Army is very difficult unless one is nationalistic. In the beginning nationalism was very moderate from the communistic viewpoint. When I spoke yesterday to the German Ambassador in Tokyo he said: 'Naturally, the anti-Soviet attitude of England and France will probably change, and the effects of their influence will probably induce numerous changes in Japanese-German relations.' So I (HIROTA) said: 'There is propaganda to the effect that Germany is doing something behind our back, or that Japan is doing something behind your back. However, Japan is doing no such thing against Germany.'"

Thereupon I went to the Prince's residence and recounted the recent developments. The Prince laughingly said: "The reputation of the KONOYE Cabinet isn't bad at all, is it? Thinking that for ARIMA and OTANI to become Ministers might be the source of criticisms, I was greatly concerned about those two. But it seems that the reputation isn't so bad. Well, this fellow OTANI appears to be a comparatively amiable individual, so maybe he is acceptable." At that time it occurred to me that perhaps the Prince had spoken of it before; but at the time of the first SAIONJI Cabinet, when the Prince nominated Baron SENKE, Sampuku, as Minister of Justice, Emperor MEIJI asked the Prince: "Isn't SENKE, Sampuku a priest (Shinto)? Why is a priest necessary?" The Prince replied: "It is for the convenience of the Government." Thus the matter was closed without any great reproof. But after the

Abe Chides the Army

Cabinet was formed, SENKE, Sempuku's bad reputation became increasingly obvious. Consequently the Prince was greatly perplexed.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 242
(21 June 1937)

Kyoto Police Work

Translated by S/Sgt. George Kakehashi

I returned to Tokyo on the 17th. At 2:30 in the afternoon, at Marquis MATSUDAIRA's residence, the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet and I, together with Chief Secretary MATSUDAIRA, conversed on various matters. The Cabinet Chief Secretary's desire was: "Won't you do something, so that I can meet the principal members of the House of Peers?" So after deliberating on various means, I said encouragingly: "How about having dinner together once a week or once every ten days and meeting them that way?"

Before I met the Chief Secretary, when I saw the Vice-Minister of Home Affairs HIROSE and asked him about the situation, he said: "It doesn't matter for KAMARADA as an individual to frequent the Premier's office, but it is not good for him to go frequently to the office of the Cabinet Chief Secretary. If he does Ministry of Home Affairs will be criticized and it will cause trouble. It is all right to have access if he has some kind of position, but to frequent the office on the ground that he is personally acquainted with Prince KONOYE is inconvenient. Even if there is absolutely no personal involvement of the Minister of Home Affairs; since it is troublesome to be criticized as though there were, please be very careful. As for the secretary, I think that matters will go along smoothly if the entire affair is entrusted to KAWASHIMA, who is the chief of the Bureau of General Affairs." Well, I informed the Chief Secretary

Kyoto Police Work

of the Cabinet upon these matters and also spoke of various matters pertaining to the Chief Secretary (MATSUDAIRA).

Then I spoke about such matters as harmony between the administrative officials and the secretaries, and its relation to the House of Peers. After 4:00 o'clock I left.

I went to Tokyo on the night of the 17th and on the morning of the 18th saw the Premier at his residence. He said: "I consent to the Imperial nomination of KAWARADA and I approve of INUKAI as a parliamentary councillor."

I told him that the Prince was greatly relieved and that he was very much concerned about the Premier's health. Then the Premier spoke about various matters, but there wasn't anything new of great importance. "To make KAWARADA the Minister of Welfare is a questionable matter. Since it was better not to make him Minister of Home Affairs or Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, wouldn't it be better not to make him Minister of Welfare?....

Truthfully, however, I think that KAWARADA is the best one; he will help and be concerned like a relative."

In Kyoto, despite the great rejoicing of the people over the Empress Dowager bathing there, because of the interruption of traffic and the thorough police inspection of parcels carried by the people, the reputation of the police has become very bad. On the contrary, since I heard that there is no rejoicing over Her Majesty's residence for several reasons, I related that story to the Premier as information. When I was in Kyoto, the chief of the Bureau of General Affairs of Kyoto came, so I cautioned him. He said: "At the time the Emperor of Manchukuo came, the police were very strict. Thus the reason for overdoing this time is the feeling that we

Kyoto Police Work

cannot relax, since it is the Empress Dowager herself. Actually, the authorities are also distressed. In reality, the actual meaning has been misconstrued and a different meaning given in its place. The latter was the attitude of the police. However, that has been misunderstood and it is in fact a distressing matter."

Some one said to the Premier: "The Chief Secretary of the Cabinet hardly knows the members of the House of Peers. Somehow he would like to be introduced." So I suggested to the Premier that he assemble, at noon on the 23rd, fifteen or sixteen members of the House of Peers who were intimate with him and introduce them to the Chief Secretary. And at the same time, that he have Minister of Agriculture and Forestry ARIMA come also. "For a wider scope of introduction than this, request Minister of Agriculture and Forestry ARIMA to carry on," I suggested. The Premier said: "I shall request that immediately."

It was arranged for the Premier to go to the Fujiya Hotel for recuperation from Saturday, the 19th to the 20th.

Seionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 243
(5 July 1937)

Konoye and Mazaki

Translated by S/Sgt. George K. Chashi

Having Marquis HOSOKAWA in mind for the presidency of the House of Peers and Marquis SASAKI for the vice-presidency, the Premier suddenly called Marquis HOSOKAWA to his office and approached him on the matter. Of course it was thought that since Marquis HOSOKAWA's health is not in a satisfactory condition his acceptance would be rather doubtful. As expected, Marquis HOSOKAWA did not accept the post, so the vice-president Count MATSUDAIRA, Yorinaga, was appointed President, and Marquis SASAKI, Vice-President.

Since I was going to Okitsu on the 22nd I went to Uragawa on the 21st and stayed over. As I was about to leave in the morning I accidentally met Count KANEKO. Since Count KANEKO was well acquainted with the former generation of Prince KONOYE and other matters, instead of speaking of the KONOYE Cabinet, he said: "As for Prince KONOYE, I would like to have him fulfil his duties splendidly in regard to this situation." When I saw Premier KONOYE, he was greatly annoyed by the extreme vulgarity of the newspaper reporters, who are associated with the Cabinet.

At noon I invited to the Tokyo Club, beginning with the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet such men as the Chief of the Metropolitan Police, the Director of the Legislative Bureau, Ministers ARIMA and OTANI, and members of the House of Peers who are personally acquainted with Prince KONOYE: HOSOKAWA, SASAKI, MATSUDAIRA, Yasuhiro; INOUE, Saburo, KUROKI, IKEDA, Tadamasa, HODA, OKABE,

Konoye and Mazaki

IWAKURA and NODA. As the present Cabinet Chief Secretary says that he has comparatively few acquaintances, which is particularly inconvenient in regard to the House of Peers, I called them together with the intention of introducing them. I greeted them saying: "The reason for your presence here today is, in brief, to introduce ourselves, who are intimately acquainted with Prince KONOYE, to the Chief Secretary. And I also wish to aid the new Premier, with experience of many years, to work according to the people's anticipation. For that reason, if you have anything to say about his duties, I would like to have you say it, for we are striving to do our utmost. Since our offer to serve through Prince KONOYE is nothing more than a token of gratitude, needless to say there is no one with sordid intentions of obtaining position or fame. So I would like to have you understand that point well." The Chief Secretary was very glad and departed after saying: "I beseech you to assist me."

On the 24th Gen. TERAUCHI happened to come to Oiso and said to me: "This is strictly between us; Premier KONOYE called the War Minister the other day and inquired about the trial of MAZAKI. He said to the War Minister: 'I came to the post of Premier with the task of reducing internal friction. Particularly, in the case of MAZAKI, since it has taken about a year and yet nothing has come of it, it must be that there isn't anything in it. You must carefully consider such things.' Generally, for the Premier to say such things is impertinent. I think that it is possible that he was prompted by someone, but the movement to acquit MAZAKI is very vigorous. Unless he (Premier) remains free of such influences it will be

Konoye and Mazaki

distressing for us. There is no need to be concerned over rumors in the military circle such as: 'If MAZAKI is found guilty, something will occur', or: 'If acquitted, then something will occur on the other side.' It's not an alarming matter. It is very strange to be influenced by such rumors as though something might happen; and to be aggravated over it as though it amounted to something." Speaking thus, he (TERAUCHI) complained angrily.

On the 29th KIDO telephoned and said: "Please come to Tokyo." Since I was to go to Tokyo on the 29th anyway, I left Oiso early in the morning and went to KIDO's. There when I heard about various matters I learned that KONOYE was very much concerned over the MAZAKI case. For KONOYE to be concerned is not unreasonable. The War Minister has said: "On such and such a day the final settlement will be made", or: "How about on a certain day?" But when that day arrives he speaks of new developments but says nothing concrete. Even though he says: "Just leave it to me", as Premier, if something should happen, he (KONOYE) would be responsible. And again, some individuals, who go to KONOYE, say: "It seems that no matter how much the TERAUCHI group investigates, there is no evidence. Yet, they are trying to place guilt (on MAZAKI) unreasonable." Or again, Gen. MINAMI came to KONOYE and said: "The distressing view within the Army is that: 'If MAZAKI is found guilty, then UGAKI and MAZAKI are from some points of view equally guilty. To issue an Imperial decree to UGAKI and then to condemn MAZAKI, against whom no concrete evidence can be found in regard to the Feb. 26th Incident is indeed outrageous. This is a shocking thought, but

Konoye and Mazaki

I wonder if the Emperor's Court and the brains of the present Army have grouped themselves and are thinking of carrying out various schemes?" Or, there are some, who having taken for granted: 'That is what we are doing,' are very indignant and are trying to settle the verdict before the August promotion day. On the other hand, if there is an acquittal, the other group were told by TERAUCHI that such men as KOISO and SUGIYAMA sacrificed themselves for those who participated in the March Incident and retired from active service. Thus they themselves retired and were anticipating that the guilty MAZAKI would be acquitted, and were indignantly saying: 'What are you going to do?' In that case, we shall expose facts showing that he was connected with SUGIYAMA's March Incident. Still further, those who hold antipathy toward SUGIYAMA's Central Army, say: 'There is a connection with SUGIYAMA's March Incident. And to draw out the complaints for a year without any evidence is indeed outrageous. . TERAUCHI and SUGIYAMA should acknowledge responsibility and resign!' Thus, both sides are troublesome. So save SUGIYAMA and MAZAKI, and the way to satisfy TATEKAWA is to place him in a suitable position and give him honor. (Of course, not that of a military man). On the one hand, set MAZAKI free and lessen the irritation with that group. Isn't it necessary to save SUGIYAMA now?

On the other hand, as the representative of MAZAKI, Gen. ARAKI said secretly: "I wish to see KONOYE immediately." So when KONOYE met ARAKI, ARAKI said: "Ultimately, TERAUCHI desires to prove MAZAKI guilty, and he is strongly putting forth his efforts. SUGIYAMA is

Konoye and Mazaki

not of great concern. Thus, though MAZAKI has been accused for a year and several months, actually there has been no trial." Or: "The judge is not carrying on a sincere investigation." Thus ARAKI crammed KONOYE with such plausible propaganda. "A state of considerable unrest is prevalent," said ARAKI. So KONOYE confronted me (KIDO), and said: "If the condition of diplomacy and politics is truly like that in the present Army, things will not go as we desire. Therefore I may move politically to a certain extent. So I would like to have you convey that fact to the Prince. Please go immediately in my place to the Prince." So KIDO said: "I wish to see the Prince immediately; won't you arrange it?"

I thought it to be a troublesome matter, but if I went and spoke to the Prince first, and then something went wrong, circumstances would be worse. Thinking that it would be better for KIDO to go first, I telephoned the Prince and ultimately arranged for KIDO to see the Prince on the morning of the 30th, one day earlier than myself.

Then, thinking that on the one hand, I didn't know the situation within the Army and that, on the other, Gen. SUGIYAMA was not a very strong man, I visited Gen. ABE on the morning of the 29th. When I asked him about various matters he said: "Gen. MINAMI is not supposed to say anything on such matters." I said to Gen. ABE that I have known Gen. MINAMI for a considerable length of time. However, unless he takes considerable caution, since he may be the next Premier.... In the future if I ever enter the political field, I shall think of this situation. UGAKI and TERAUCHI were said to be of one

Konoye and Mazaki

mind and one body with SUGIYAMA. But I think that such friendship is a curse on the future. On the one hand, because he wishes to speak to the ARAKI-MAZAKI clique, he may be flattered by them. Perhaps he may be thinking of his future and be carrying on an agitation for MAZAKI's acquittal. In any case, I hold more or less suspicion of Gen. MINAMI, so we must take extreme precautions." Gen. ABE was repeatedly saying: "That is strange!"

Then Gen. ABE continued: "No matter what happens, a political settlement will make the situation much worse. Again, for Prince KONOYE not to concern himself at all with this problem is exceedingly desirable. No matter how long or how short a time it takes, ultimately, I think, it will be better to entrust this matter to the War Minister. However, we are gravely concerned that the longer it takes the less satisfactory it is. Therefore it is better to settle this matter as soon as possible, but actually it does not go so smoothly. Since it is a complicated matter, it may take much time. When I met the Vice-Minister of War the day before yesterday he said: 'Every other day the court convenes and gradual progress is being made'. From the first, the present Judge, ISOMURA, has been a very reliable individual, who dislikes any vagueness, so I think that he will always carry out his duties properly. There is no other way than to entrust the matter to the Judge. I too, do not know much about this recent situation. However, it is said: 'If MAZAKI is convicted, something may occur.' But even if he is convicted, I wonder whether or not something will occur. I think that no matter what the verdict may be nothing of great importance will occur. However, to

Konoye and Mazaki

settle the issue politically is extremely bad, so I think that the Premier should stay away from this matter."

I heard also from KIDO on various other matters. The War Minister should determine to confide to a certain extent in the Premier and to tell all the circumstances. Unless he speaks so that the Premier can feel relieved, it is not unreasonable for the Premier to be greatly concerned. Since it is natural for the Premier to be concerned more over this issue than over his duties, we must have him (SUGIYAMA) go and speak to the Premier, so that the Premier may be reassured. "The fact that the Premier said: 'Well, a certain senior official,' and failed to mention Gen. MINAMI's name to Minister SUGIYAMA showed that he took a very indifferent attitude," said TERAUCHI angrily. However, had he (SUGIYAMA) told all he knew about the Army situation and about the trial in general, the Premier would have been reassured. But, he does not say much about the facts but merely repeats: "Don't worry! Don't worry!" As such things are said, I think that it is not at all unreasonable for the Premier to be uncertain.

Then Gen. ABE said: "I would like to have you fully understand the recent situation and explain it directly and confidentially to the Chief of the Metropolitan Police and to the Premier. Since the Chief of the Metropolitan Police said: 'Being away (from Tokyo) I don't know anything about the administration, and as for the affairs within the Army, I would like to hear from an impartial individual,' I suggested Gen. ABE. Then I returned and telephoned War Minister SUGIYAMA, saying: 'It will be perplexing, unless you speak more definitely to

Konoye and Mazaki

the Premier so that he will be reassured."

On the morning of the 30th I met the Navy Minister and spoke to him about the present MAZAKI case. He said: "In case there are instances when Minister of Justice SHIONO or Minister of Home Affairs BABA, moved by some force, seem to be suggesting a political settlement to the Premier, please tell him that I as Navy Minister will never participate in this Army trial. I would like to have the other Ministers grouped together."

Then I returned home and had the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet come over. I said: "I have known Prince KONOYE for a long time. As he is of weak character, it is well known that he is easily influenced. So please see that he doesn't meet certain groups or hear certain propaganda." But the Chief Secretary said: "The truth is that since yesterday there has been a bad rumor in the air. I heard that: 'The Premier will participate again in the supreme command case.' Therefore, just now, before I left I wrote a letter saying: 'It is better not to participate in this matter at all. Leave it alone.' So I think the Premier will make up his mind that way."

I left on the afternoon of the 30th and went to Ugawara and met KIDO. I heard about KIDO's conversation with the Prince at Okitsu, and I related to him my conversations. KIDO also was entirely opposed to KONOYE's venture upon a political settlement and said: "For example, if a question which can be settled is left alone as an insoluble matter, and if it comes to the point where KONOYE is forced to assume responsibility, the resulting circumstances will be very unsatisfactory. I told the Prince about matters in general and said: 'Of

Konoye and Mazaki

course Premier KONOYE will never venture forth politically. However, there may be instances when prompt decisions must be made, so.... We discussed conditions in the Army, whose attention presently centers on the trial. I conveyed the Premier's determination to the Prince and returned."

On the following day I went to Okitsu and met the Prince, and he said: "As for KIDO's conversation, it was as you say. Thus I realize that it is as he (KIDO) said, and fully understand the conversation. Hence, for the matter to be prolonged appears to be inevitable. To have the matter prolonged is not satisfactory, so I have been thinking from the beginning upon how to settle it as soon as possible. However, nothing can be done. Furthermore, whether it be conviction or acquittal, if something should happen, then it is better to take some appropriate measures at that time. I don't think that there is any alternative but to observe quietly until the end of the Army trial. No matter how much KONOYE may be talked about it will be bad if he (KONOYE) is influenced by such talk to participate in the issue. It is better to follow the path of righteousness."

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 244
(14 July 1937)

Lukouchiao

Translated by S/Sgt. George Kakehashi

I went to Tokyo on the 3rd and when I met the Foreign Minister, he said: "As for the USSR-Manchukuo border question, the Soviets are saying: 'We have no intention of expanding the issue.' So I think that there is no need to worry."

Suddenly, in the outskirts of Peiping, in the Lukouchiao area (Marco Polo Bridge), an incident broke out in which, during night maneuvers, our forces were attacked by the Chinese 29th Army. Since it was desired to try to localize the issue, at one time it appeared to be settled. When the incident first broke out the thought which came to us was that the War Minister had seemed very worried recently. The reason for that was the question whether or not the young officers overseas might start something before the August promotions and transfers. Especially, whether a certain staff officer, TANAKA, Ryukichi, who failed at Suiyuan, might start something. Or the reason may have been the circumstances of the present MAZAKI trial. Whichever it may have been, there will be considerable trouble. The thought that both points were causing great anxiety (to the War Minister) came to us. I heard later that at the time of the Lukouchiao Incident the War Minister said at the Cabinet meeting: "I would like to dispatch immediately three divisions from Japan in order to save those five thousand troops at any cost. And I wish to have the entire issue viewed as my responsibility."

Premier KONOYE said at that time: "Unless we weigh

Lukouchiao

the matter carefully, for Japan to send a large force to China now is of grave international import. From the standpoint of national policy, to deploy such forces because of such a question may not meet with the people's sanction. For there to be increasing revolt against the Army will not be satisfactory. Therefore I am absolutely against deploying the troops. Consequently we cannot yield the entire responsibility to the War Minister." Thus he (KONOYE) rejected the War Minister's proposal.

The Minister of Home Affairs, the Navy Minister, and the Foreign Minister agreed with Premier KONOYE's absolute rejection of the proposal. So, ultimately, the War Minister withdrew it. After that the situation suddenly changed twice, and it seems that the Incident, which appeared likely to be settled, became increasingly unsettled.

On the 12th, before I went to Gotemba, I went to the Imperial villa at Hayama and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at Chojaen. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "Since I heard that His Majesty was to grant an audience to His Imperial Highness, the Chief of the General Staff, I went immediately to the Imperial Palace, was received in audience by His Majesty, and said: 'Before you receive the Chief of the General Staff, won't you receive the Premier?' His Majesty said: 'At the time of the Manchukuo Incident, when I saw the Premier first, I was reminded of the prerogative of supreme command, etc. Because there were serious complications for the Premier at that time, I will see KONOYE later.' Thus His Majesty received His Imperial Highness, the Chief of the General Staff and asked: 'If the USSR starts something, what will

Lukouchiao

you do?' His Imperial Highness, Prince KAN-IN, replied: 'The Army thinks that the USSR will not start anything.' However, His Majesty said: 'That is the dogma of the Army; but if, perchance, the USSR should start something, what would you do?' His Imperial Highness merely replied: 'Nothing can be done.' So it seemed that His Majesty was greatly displeased.

"Then the War Minister decided to aid the five thousand men at Tientsin and declared at the Cabinet meeting: 'I would like, by all means, to deploy troops at this time.' Then Premier KONOYE said: 'I do not wish to expand the issue but it may be better to deploy troops according to necessity.' Thus, he (KONOYE) was of the same opinion with the War Minister, and he said: 'If we oppose the deployment of troops at this time and do not consider the wishes of the Army the War Minister will be compelled to resign. Then, the Cabinet will have to resign. If I resign, somebody will have to accept this situation. Therefore, as there may be no one who can possibly check the Army, there is no other way than for me to assume the responsibility and confront the issue.' Thus Premier KONOYE made a pathetic decision.

"Then the War Minister definitely said: 'We shall not expand the issue.' His Majesty received His Imperial Highness, the Chief of the General Staff twice and His Imperial Highness, the Chief of the Naval General Staff once. The War Minister said that he would send a large force to smash the opposition and settle the issue in a short time. But when I asked: 'Can you carry it out as expected?', the War Minister was not able to make any definite answer."

Lukouchiao

On the afternoon of the 12th a report came saying that the Chinese Army would accept all our demands. While I was speaking with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the War Minister, an adjutant came and said: "From Tientsin a telegram has come, saying: 'Accepted all our demands.' It is a very sincere answer." It is probable that the War Minister did not want to have that telegram read in the presence of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, but it was done. The demands were for the withdrawal of troops, a guarantee of the future, and the punishment of the responsible officers. The officers of the Chinese Army are justifying themselves by saying: "The troops are being influenced by the Communists."

In the Army even the General Staff Headquarters thought: "'Let us make an agreement', is probably a Chinese ruse to make us stop our military preparation." Thus, it seems that the Army, in addition to deciding once more to deploy troops, desires to put forth more stringent demands to the Chinese.

On that day I went from Hayama to Gotemba by car, reported on the general situation, and returned to Tokyo. When I reported to Prince SAIONJI at Gotemba on matters concerning Premier KONOYE and various other matters related to me by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Prince SAIONJI said: "Please convey my regards to KONOYE when you return." He was extremely grateful for KONOYE's strenuous efforts and said: "I sincerely beg you to persist. Somehow we must prevent the frequent occurrence of such incidents, keep Japan from erring from the viewpoint of the general situation, and continue to maintain cordial relations with Britain and America. To assure

Lukouchiao

the destiny of Japan this is the path which the future Japan must take. To carry on small skirmishes frequently at such places as the USSR-Manchukuo border or North China is to imperil the destiny of Japan."

I returned to Tokyo and saw Prince KONOYE and told him in detail about Prince SAIONJI's conversation. It so happened that Premier KONOYE was in bed with indigestion, but I went anyway on the morning of the 13th and spoke to him on various matters. However, there are many viewpoints and it seems that many come to him to express them. The situation was that the Army desired to unify the newspapers and permit them to write agitatedly and indiscriminately. When reports which state that an agreement is being reached come in, the Army will not permit the newspapers to print them but withholds them instead. On the afternoon of the 13th Councillor SAWADA, who was in Manchukuo, arrived in Tokyo by airplane. He came to me, and according to his story, the situation is different from what the Army says. I think, indeed, that it is the opposite of what I have been hearing up to now.

Though the governmental officials abroad are said to be extremely powerful, it appears that they viewed the situation at home as follows: that the Cabinet decided upon the deployment of troops, or that it would have been better if His Majesty did not return from Hayama, or that a very hurried decision was made. They always think that a local settlement can be made. We hear in Tokyo that those abroad are very powerful and cannot be controlled, but it is the young officers of the General Staff Headquarters or of the War Ministry who are to be criticized.

Thus, in circumstances such as these, men as Major

Lukouchiao

ISHIHARA are said to have put their utmost efforts in avoidance of such a collision as that in North China. Aide-de-Camp MACHIJIRI was greatly concerned in the same matter. So, to MATSUDAIRA, Chief Secretary of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, it was said: "Why not decide to revolutionize our diplomacy and have Foreign Minister HIROTA fly to Nanking to improve our relations with China?" It is likely that the same thing was said to KONOYE by Major ISHIHARA. However, that is a very difficult thing to do, and even if he (HIROTA) expressedly went and settled the matter, if the Army is not solidly behind him, there is no telling what will happen. Thus, the situation is such that the Foreign Minister cannot assume the responsibility and fly to Nanking. Outside of the War Ministry, in the Navy Ministry, the Foreign Office, or the Cabinet, no one knows just what is what. While the days sped by, on the morning of the 14th, the Chief Secretary called unofficially and said to me: "Late last night His Imperial Highness, the Chief of the General Staff, and the War Minister met and issued very important instructions to the forces abroad. They resolved to have the forces abroad settle the issue locally." It seems that someone flew to Tientsin early in the morning.

The Premier, in order to control public opinion and to show the unified threat of the entire Japanese Empire to China, called various influential individuals to his official residence. He instructed them that the determination of the Army was also the determination of the Government and encouraged them to cooperate.

Among others ex-Foreign Minister ARITA was also greatly concerned and said: "I would like to see you."

Lukouchino

So then I met him and heard the situation I realized the lack of control within the Army. If the Army were to wage war now its interior structure would be precarious. To make war preparations when the people are already frightened by a tremendous budget will render it almost impossible for Japan to carry her public debt. The exchange has depreciated greatly and if Japan's credit cannot be entrenched, eventually a malignant inflation will come. Since there is a fear of having the situation become much worse than that of Germany we must take extreme precautions not to expand the issue nor to make any blunders. As I said before, if the affair was settled at last night's meeting between the Chief of the General Staff and the War Minister, it is very well. Each Minister, beginning with the Premier, is greatly concerned to settle the issue somehow.

The Navy Minister, especially, is always helping the Premier with a splendid attitude and is striving to prevent the issue from becoming larger. Ambassador ARITA met War Minister SUGIYAMA and sincerely advised him for the benefit of the nation. Nevertheless, from every possible angle, everyone is greatly concerned over Japan's crisis; how can the issue be settled in Japan proper and how can Japan escape from such a predicament? Thus, when I saw and heard from the Minister of Finance, the Foreign Minister and other important Ministers, they all had the same opinion. The only misfortune of this time is that a certain stubborn part of the Army is still clamoring boisterously. I left on the evening of the 14th so that I may see the Prince at Gotemba on the 15th.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 245
(19 July 1937)

Localize but Mobilize!

Translated by T/Sgt Shigeo Fukuyama

Late at night on the 14th, the Chief of the General Staff, accompanied by the War Minister, was received in audience by the Emperor. He reported to the Emperor: "I intend to settle this Incident at the place where it occurred and to carry this out with a policy of non-expansion. However, if we do not mobilize to a certain degree there will be a danger that with the passing of time, the Chinese troops in North China will be assembled in the Peiping region; therefore, a partial mobilization has been carried out to face any possible emergency that may arise." Moreover, it was decided that SHIBAYAMA, Chief of the Military Affairs Section, would fly early the following morning to Tientsin with orders, for the purpose of settling the Incident where it took place.

I went to Gotemba on the 15th and made a general report to SAIONJI. He expressed great anxiety over the attitude taken by the Army. He said as usual: "If the Army continues to meddle in China, it will eventually incur heavy losses. It would be bad if our country were to be thrown into an unimaginable crisis." He seemed to be greatly worried.

Just before I went to Gotemba I met Prince KONOYE. He told me: "The Foreign Minister will not make a complete report on this incident and there has been no report whatsoever from the War Minister." Therefore, I telephoned Vice-Foreign Minister HORIUCHI and told him: "The Foreign Minister and the Premier display similar characters in that if one happens to meet them, they will not come out and

Localize but Mobilize!

make direct statements; therefore, in a case like this if it is difficult for the Foreign Minister to make reports on incidentals, the least you can do in order to give a certain amount of relief to the Premier, is to report to him on the progress of foreign affairs and on the preparations made to meet various situations."

HORIUCHI replied: "I will think this matter over very carefully and, within the next few days, go to see the Premier with the Foreign Minister." I also phoned the former Foreign Minister, ARITA, and asked him to explain matters carefully to HORIUCHI. He replied: "To be sure," and he later told me: "I immediately went and had a talk with HORIUCHI."

Premier KONOYE was very worried and said: "I do not know the desires of the Kwantung Army and I cannot tell on what point they have placed the most emphasis." Therefore, I telephoned SAWADA and asked him: "Why can't you see USHIBA and find out what the Premier wants to know and just what matter is worrying him. As far as the Kwantung Army is concerned, give USHIBA your personal sidelights on the subject and in this way make an indirect report to the Premier. Of course you make your reports to the Foreign Minister and it is possible for him to talk to the Premier but isn't it much quicker to talk to USHIBA?"

SAWADA replied: "In connection with the negotiations on the present Incident, if there is something that we on our side are demanding, it would be very convenient if we could first have the Chief and the Assistant Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army come to Tokyo and attend a conference and to talk to them before the settlement is made."

This is going a little off the subject but according

Localize but Mobilize!

to ARITA: "When I met Gen. ABE a few days ago, he said: 'In regard to the present confused condition within the Army, there is no end to the worry that it causes. We must put our entire efforts into the rebuilding of the present Army.' It seems that men of the same class have gradually assembled with the intention of putting their entire efforts into the rebuilding of the Army. Although I have not heard the full particulars regarding this matter, it seems that these men are greatly worried over this."

On the evening of the 17th I went to Tokyo and met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. We traded reports on what had happened since our last meeting and found that no particular changes had occurred. He too, was naturally greatly worried over a successful settlement of the Incident. During our conversation, ARITA phoned. He expressed anxiety over the situation and said, in regard to the fact that the Chief Cabinet Secretary and TAKI, Director of the Bureau of Legislation, were being urged by the younger men: "They have gone too far." However, since I had met the Chief Cabinet Secretary and knew his intentions, I did not worry too much. Nevertheless, realizing that ARITA's worries were over a very important issue, I had repeatedly told the Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and USHIBA, Secretary to the Premier: "For your own information, go to see ARITA and listen to what he has to say." I found that the two of them had gone to see the former Foreign Minister ARITA that night.

Going back to my conversation with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he asked: "Although they keep insisting that they are carrying out a policy of non-expansion,

Localize but Mobilize!

aren't they getting themselves involved more and more deeply? The present Army is the cause of great worry. I am also worried about the inadequate control within the Army. The Emperor said a few days ago: 'How would it be if I attended the meeting of the Cabinet?' This came as the result of a talk between Premier KONOYE and the Emperor. I wonder just exactly what is the true purpose behind his proposal to attend the Cabinet meetings. I wonder if there is a scheme of the HIRANUMA faction behind this meeting in the Imperial presence." He seemed greatly worried over this so I told him: "I am positive that there is no such thing."

Early on the morning of the 18th, I visited Vice-Navy Minister YAMAMOTO at his official residence. He told me: "It may be thought that this is a request from the War Minister to the Navy Minister in order to effect a break in the present situation, but the Head of the East Asia Bureau has set up a plan and is trying to bring about a settlement with four stipulations. Concurrently, the Government issued a declaration and its intention was to settle this Incident at the place where it occurred with the thought of national unity being predominant. After it had discussed this with the Navy, it went into a conference with the Army. The Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau had withdrawn, saying: 'In general, this will be all right.' He later returned and said: 'Army circles will not be satisfied with this; therefore let's get together again on the 16th of July.' Thus, even after a decision had been reached by the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau and the Vice-Ministers of the three Ministries, when the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau returned to the War Ministry,

Localize but Mobilize!

he was told: 'The general atmosphere of our subordinate group has changed and we cannot go on like this; therefore, please change your decision.' Two nights ago, even the higher headquarters of the Army thought about effecting a break in the situation.

"When the Home, Navy, Army and Foreign Ministers remained after the Cabinet meeting to discuss this, the Navy Minister suggested: 'We must settle this as soon as possible. How about forcing them by putting on a time limit?' He added: 'Even if we settle this Incident at the place where it occurred, the problem demands basic and sound consideration.' The other Ministers were very much in agreement with him.

"Two nights ago there was another call for a meeting, but I (YAMAMOTO) told them: 'It would be useless if, as happened a few days ago, the Ministers, Vice-Ministers and the Bureau Chiefs got together and decided something, only to change their minds again under the influence of the members of the subordinate group. Moreover, it would be useless if the decisions once made could not be carried out. Finally, it would be useless even to hold a meeting if there is no determination to carry out the decisions. Therefore, if the Navy came out officially and told their subordinates: 'This kind of action is wrong, we must help the Army,' and the Army came out saying: 'This and that is bothering us, please explain to them very carefully on such and such a point,' and making up its mind, negotiated with the Navy, then, because it would be for the good of the nation, the Navy would do all it could secretly to help the Army. However, if the decisions once made were suddenly changed, the responsibility would be shifted to

Localize but Mobilize

the Navy; moreover, it would be very bad indeed if later the Navy were to become the target for criticisms; therefore decisions must be made beforehand, otherwise even a discussion is out of the question.'

"Therefore, I (YAMAMOTO) told them that if the Army came out frankly and admitted: 'Actually we feel this way. Alone, we cannot cope with the situation, so won't you please help us?' Then, naturally the Navy would not refuse to give them its all out support. Moreover, the views of the Navy Ministry and the Foreign Ministry were, generally speaking, identical. Although I had a talk with the Vice-War Minister two nights ago, we parted with no agreement whatsoever being reached."

During this time, on the 12th of July, the Premier met in succession the War, Navy and finally the Foreign Minister. The Navy Minister had repeatedly stated: "If the Incident is not settled right away; i.e., if a local settlement of the Incident is not made before the Army carries out its mobilization plans and if mobilization is completed, then the Army will not stop at just a local settlement of the Incident. It is easy to talk about local settlement. Nevertheless, I am worried that a settlement will not be made and that an inescapable situation will arise. I would like to send the Foreign Minister to Nan-king and have a basic and sound settlement of this problem." Therefore, on the 17th the Army again requested of the Foreign Ministry: "Please set up a plan according to the program you laid out two days ago." Therefore the Navy thought that the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau would give his support to this, but he did not say one word in regard to this plan; on the contrary, he said:

Localize but Mobilize!

"Army circles will not be satisfied by this." Moreover, a certain Lt. Col. said: "The fact that the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau will not even back and try to put into effect this plan which had been agreed upon by both the Foreign and the Navy Ministries is a cause for unlimited indignation." He lamented the faint-hearted attitude of the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau USHIROKU.

After the Cabinet meeting on the 17th, while the five Ministers were reiterating the facts which had come up in the meeting, the Navy Minister said: "I'd like to set a time limit and have a quick settlement made. Only, I wouldn't want this time limit and settlement to have the nature of a final ultimatum." In general, the provisions called for an apology, the meting out of punishment, the withdrawal of troops and the stamping out of anti-Japanese sentiment. Although these could not all be carried out right away, in regard to all the provisions with the exception of the stamping out of anti-Japanese sentiment, the War Minister said: "They must be carried out right away. Moreover, as for the fundamentals of this policy, the local settlement of this Incident must first be carried out. After the Navy Minister had left, the War Minister told the others: "The terms of the aforementioned local settlement have yet to be decided upon. Only the terms which will be presented to the Nanking Government have been set." According to these terms: "The Nanking Government will not interfere with the local settlement. Moreover, it will not send troops northward." The War Minister added: "The Navy has said: 'Terms which cannot be accepted by the Nanking Government should not be presented to it.'"

On my way home about 8:30 in the morning, I went to

Localize but Mobilize!

the home of the Chief Cabinet Secretary. He told me: "A few days ago, I went to a meeting of the Foreign, Home, War and Navy Ministers. I told them that something must be done right away and urged the speedy settlement of this Incident. They all thought the same and said: 'While we are wasting time here, China is gradually increasing her troops. To offset this we must make adequate preparations. Moreover, if we do not wait until our defense is set up before we start negotiations, it would be disastrous if they saw our predicament and took advantage of this opportunity.' I inquired about the Army and found that mobilization would take ten days. In order to complete this mobilization, the troops in Ryusan, Korea, would reach North China about the 18th or 19th. I thought that the Chinese coolies would help us but the anti-Japanese elements there were so strong that they did not even come out. It follows that a transport corps must be mobilized from the mainland to accompany the troops or else the supplies could not be delivered in time. Moreover, the Foreign Ministry told the Nanking Government: 'We will not permit the movement of additional troops northward. You will not interfere with the local settlement of the Incident.'" The Chief Cabinet Secretary told the same story that the Vice-Minister of Navy had told before.

Moreover, according to the Chief Cabinet Secretary: "At the meeting of the five Ministers yesterday, the 18th, I suggested a political settlement of the issue. I proposed to set up a non-military zone in North China to prevent any further trouble there in the next four or five years. To abolish the regional governments in

1

Localize but Mobilize!

Chi-Tung and Chi-Cha which had up to now been worthless to Japan. We must build a new atmosphere of proceeding with a so-called economic coalition. In general, these terms which we are thinking of now will respect territorial rights. Moreover the governments of other countries will support this. In respecting territorial rights we will oppose China's attacks on imperialism. In this way, I would like to make clear Japan's stand. Moreover, because of the fact that the reports of our foreign policy have been disseminating from various sources such as the Kwantung Army, Tientsin and the Military Attache's office in Peiping, and are very contradictory, I would like to have the sources of these reports cut down to one and have the circles of the War Minister stop making various reports regarding our foreign policy." It can be seen by this that while the Chief Cabinet Secretary is cautioning others on the more important issues, he is doing all he can to bring about a political settlement of this Incident somehow.

A little past 9:00 o'clock I went to Premier KONOYE's place. Although he was still in bed, I talked to him on various topics. In regard to the fact that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had told me that the Emperor wished to attend the meeting of the Cabinet, etc., I asked the Premier: "What is the reason behind this?" Premier KONOYE answered: "The Emperor attends a trivial meeting such as the Privy Council meeting to discuss the improvement of one part of the Overseas Affairs Ministry. On the other hand, he has not even once attended a Cabinet meeting which has a much more important political significance. This is very inconsistent and is hard to

Localize but Mobilize!

understand; therefore I had a chat with the Emperor a few days ago to find out whether or not he could attend the Cabinet meetings. There is no special meaning to this story nor is there any need for haste." I found that the Emperor had talked about this with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Expressing anxiety over the question of a meeting in the Imperial presence, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had related the story to me. Premier KONOYE continued: "Regarding the present situation, I would like to send Foreign Minister HIROTA to Nanking to bring about a speedy conversion of the relations between Japan and China. I would like to have the suggestion of sending HIROTA presented by SAIONJI." I told him: "I will see what SAIONJI thinks about this." Moreover, according to Premier KONOYE: "If HIROTA will not do, I will go myself," so saying, he expressed great determination. The Premier continued: "I would like to bring about a comprehensive settlement from a political standpoint. Furthermore, if Japan presents at this meeting the fact that she entertains no wild territorial ambitions; i.e., that she has no desire for the use of wanton military power, and if she sets forth rational demands to China, then, even if their terms do not materialize, I believe that this is the best policy because it would clearly indicate to the rest of the world her standpoint and intentions." The Premier's one ambition was to make clear Japan's standpoint on this matter. I realized that the Premier was very just in his way of thinking and that there was no need for ARITA and others to worry; however, as countless people, with various kinds of motives, would come into contact with the Premier I felt keenly that in

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order to steer the Premier on the right course, those close to him must not fail to advise him on the various ideals coming in from the outside.

I returned to Oiso that evening and telephoned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I told him of KONOYE's views regarding the question of the Emperor attending Cabinet meetings and about various other things. Later I phoned Premier KONOYE. He told me: "On the 20th it appeared that China had assumed a very apologetic attitude and that even T.V. SOONG has weakened considerably. I believe that 70% of our demands will go through."

Early the following morning, I went to the palace of Prince TAKAMATSU. We talked for about two hours about the time from UGAKI's receipt of the Imperial command to the general situation during the HAYASHI and KONOYE Cabinets. The Prince persistently said: "The present state of affairs is inciting the people and the newspapers are playing it up considerably. It is a very unfavorable situation. It would be better if they conducted themselves with the magnanimity and calmness of a great nation." The Prince continued: "A few days ago, when I was received in audience by the Emperor, he said: 'I heard that Gen. TERAUCHI is very indignant because of the fact that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is saying that he wants to clear MAZAKI of all charges.'" Therefore, I (HARADA) told the Prince: "That story is all wrong. Someone told TERAUCHI: 'A certain high dignitary is hoping for the acquittal of MAZAKI,' and it is a fact that TERAUCHI jumped to the conclusion that this high dignitary was the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and was very indignant about it. However, it is apparent today who this high dignitary is and that the Lord Keeper of the

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Privy Seal had no connection whatever with this matter. Moreover, we know now that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal has never secretly plotted to have the Emperor participate in the court-martial of MAZAKI and that at the present time Gen. TERAUCHI entertains no such thoughts in regard to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal."